United Nations S/PV.3493

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3493rd Meeting

Thursday, 26 January 1995, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice (S/1995/33, S/1995/34 and Add.1, S/1995/74 and S/1995/35)

95-05086 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice (S/1995/33, S/1995/34 and Add.1, S/1995/74 and S/1995/35)

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to recall that at its 3443rd meeting, on 21 October 1994, the Security Council adopted resolution 951 (1994), in which it decided that the election to fill the vacancy in the International Court of Justice should take place on 26 January 1995 at a meeting of the Security Council and at a meeting of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session.

This morning the Security Council and the General Assembly will proceed independently with the election, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Statute of the Court, for the purpose of filling this vacancy. The list of candidates nominated by national groups and received by the Secretary-General as of 10 January 1995, the deadline for receipt of nominations, is contained in document S/1995/34 and Addendum 1.

Furthermore, document S/1995/74 contains the list of candidates nominated by national groups and received by the Secretary-General after 10 January 1995.

Document S/1995/35 contains the curriculum vitae of the nominated candidate.

The Security Council also has before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General in document S/1995/33, describing the present composition of the Court and setting out the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the election.

I should like to remind the Council that under Article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

> "Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected."

The required majority in the Security Council is eight votes.

Article 15 of the Statute of the Court provides that

> "A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term."

Accordingly, the member elected to fill the remainder of the term left vacant by the death of Judge Nikolai Konstantinovitch Tarassov will serve until 5 February 1997.

The voting will be by secret ballot. When we proceed to the vote, members of the Council will receive a ballot paper containing the names of the candidates. Members of the Council are requested to place an "X" next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. Votes may be cast only for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot paper and each elector may vote for only one candidate; otherwise the ballot will be considered invalid. When a candidate has obtained the required majority, I shall notify the President of the General Assembly of the name of that candidate, and I shall request the Council to remain in session pending the receipt from the President of the General Assembly of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

I shall now draw lots to select two delegations to serve as tellers.

* * *

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* Nigeria and the United States have been drawn. I therefore request each of them to appoint one member of its delegation to serve as teller.

At the initiation of the President, Mr. Egunsola (Nigeria) and Ms. Dym (United States of America) acted as tellers.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* May I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed with the election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Nikolai Konstantinovitch Tarassov?

It is so decided.

I would ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" in the box next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted, and I ask the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. I should like to remind the Council that, as we agreed during our consultations, the ballots will not be counted until it has been verified that the ballot papers in the General Assembly have been collected. The Council will remain in session pending the receipt of that information.

* * *

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I have been informed that the ballot papers have been collected in the General Assembly. The counting of the ballots in the Security Council will now begin.

The tellers will now count the ballots. As agreed in our consultations, there will be two independent countings of the ballots, one by each teller.

* * *

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Vladlen S. Vereshchetin (Russian Federation)	15

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Vladlen S. Vereshchetin has accordingly received the required majority of votes in the Security Council. I shall communicate the result of the vote to the President of the General Assembly in writing. I request the Council to remain in session while we wait for the President of the General Assembly to inform the Council of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

* * *

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have just received from the President of the General Assembly the following letter:

> "I have the honour to inform you that at the 96th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held today for the purpose of electing one member of the International Court of Justice, the following candidate obtained an absolute majority of the votes in the General Assembly: Mr. Vladlen S. Vereshchetin".

As the Security Council and the General Assembly have agreed on the same candidate, the distinguished jurist Mr. Vladlen S. Vereshchetin of the Russian Federation has been elected a member of the International Court of Justice for a term of office expiring on 5 February 1997.

I should like to congratulate Mr. Vereshchetin and to wish him every success in the high office to which he has been elected. I should also like to thank the tellers for their assistance.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3494

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3494th Meeting
Friday, 27 January 1995, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Munyampeta
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Mozambique

95-85086 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mozambique

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Japan, Mozambique and Portugal in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Simão (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Valle (Brazil), Mr. Karsgaard (Canada), Mr. Awaad (Egypt), Mr. Maruyama (Japan) and Mr. Catarino (Portugal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

The first speaker is His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique. On behalf of the Security Council, I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. Simão (Mozambique): First of all, I wish to congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I have been advised of your excellent qualities of leadership as well as your diplomatic skills. I therefore have no doubt that you will successfully guide our deliberations. You can rest assured of my delegation's readiness to cooperate with you in the discharge of your duties. I would request you to convey to the Government of Argentina the Mozambican Government's appreciation for the positive role your country has played in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), and especially for the military hospital deployed by Argentina in our country.

I should also like to commend the manner in which your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Manzi Bakuramutsa of Rwanda, presided over the deliberations of the Council last month.

I wish to seize this opportunity to welcome the new members of the Council — Botswana, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia and Italy. My delegation looks forward to cooperating closely with them during the period of their mandate. I should not fail to put on record my Government's appreciation for the excellent role played by the outgoing members of the Council — Brazil, Djibouti, New Zealand, Pakistan and Spain — during the last two years as members of the Security Council. Their participation, together with that of other members of the Council, and their close relationship with us during the last two years have contributed to enhancing the role of this body in addressing major issues concerning international peace and security. Indeed, it was during that period that the Council dealt with matters pertaining to the establishment of lasting peace and tranquillity in my country, in the framework of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). In that period, members of the Council contributed collectively and individually to the success of the noble cause of peace in Mozambique. May I, at this stage, commend all Security Council members and their respective Governments for the valuable contribution they have rendered to my country ever since the signing of the General Peace Agreement in Rome on 4 October 1992.

On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, I should equally like to commend the Secretary-General for the personal role he has played in the consolidation of peace in my country, as well as in the maintenance of international peace and security. In our assessment, despite the numerous challenges facing today's world, the Secretary-General has been able to make the United Nations an organization respected by all of us and regarded as an instrument of hope for the peoples of the world. In the case of Mozambique, the Secretary-General's permanent follow-up and leadership of ONUMOZ activities has played a crucial role in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. His visit to Mozambique in October last year bears testimony to his personal commitment towards our peace process. Similarly, I wish to commend the Special Representative

of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, and the personnel of ONUMOZ for their efforts to implement the mandate entrusted to them. I recall with deep sadness that some of those young men have lost their lives in the discharge of their duties. Once again, on behalf of the people and the Government of Mozambique and on my own behalf, I wish to pay tribute to them and reiterate our heartfelt condolences to their respective Governments and families.

Today's meeting is the last of a series of Security Council meetings on Mozambique during the past two years. We are honoured to participate in today's deliberations, especially because we are assembled not to express our concerns over outstanding issues but, rather, to say that at last our collective mission has been successfully accomplished, despite all the hurdles we encountered in the process.

We are therefore happy to congratulate ourselves on the completion of a major, delicate but successful United Nations peace-keeping operation. It is now time for a final assessment of the whole process, so as to draw lessons that will certainly help the United Nations address similar operations in future and to collectively exchange views on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique and on how best we can enhance the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping operations.

In a few days, in pursuance of Security Council resolution 957 (1994) of 14 November 1994, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique will have completed all its activities and withdrawn from Mozambique.

As the Council is aware, in fulfilment of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, the first multi-party general elections were held from 27 to 29 October 1994. These elections have been regarded by the international community and by this body as an example of the political maturity of the Mozambican people. We take great pride in the distinction thus conferred on our people. It gives us renewed energy and the confidence to overcome future challenges. My Government recognizes the significant role played by the Security Council in the success of these first general elections in my country and regards them as the real foundation for the establishment of a multi-party democratic society in Mozambique.

At the completion of this process, a new Assembly of the Republic, consisting of 250 deputies from the three political parties that obtained the most votes, was inaugurated on 8 December. Subsequently — on the following day — President Chissano was sworn in as the first President elected by universal suffrage.

These very important steps marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Mozambique. This is an era in which political pluralism, national reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between Mozambicans will have to be ensured in order to enable lasting peace to be attained in our country. Indeed, it is within the framework of multi-party democracy that a presidential forum, composed of a variety of distinguished political figures, will be created to enhance the national reconciliation process and the consolidation of democracy. We are entering an era in which violence and the use or threat of the use of force will be replaced by political dialogue and tolerance; an era in which the right to agree or disagree with one another must be respected by each and every person.

In other words, this is an era in which respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms will constitute the cornerstone of our society. In his inaugural address, President Chissano committed himself to doing all in his power to attain these objectives, so that the peace we celebrate today may endure for ever. He further emphasized, *inter alia*, that

> "As I begin my mandate as President of the Republic, I declare my solemn commitment that I shall always be the President of all Mozambicans. I shall guarantee to all Mozambicans equal rights and freedoms, enshrined in the Constitution and in law. I shall respect the will of the majority and shall pay due attention to the rights of minorities in order that the enjoyment of freedom and rights shall never again be restricted or threatened by intolerance, discrimination or acts of aggression".

In summary, we have entered an era in which Mozambicans will learn to live together in harmony and will concentrate their efforts on healing the wounds resulting from so many years of conflict and destruction.

As we begin this new phase in our democratic process, we look forward to addressing the challenges ahead of us. Currently, the Government is engaged in the preparation of the budget, whose approval by the Assembly of the Republic is scheduled to take place in March. To this end, President Chissano, in his annual address to the diplomatic community accredited in Mozambique, launched an appeal to the donor community

for its continued involvement in the process of national reconstruction. He further stressed his conviction that the implementation of the Economic and Social Rehabilitation Programme launched by the Government in 1987, having shown encouraging trends and significant progress during the last year, can register even better results now that our country is enjoying a climate of peace, provided it is supported by the international community. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming Consultative Group meeting, scheduled for March in Paris, will be in line with the expectations of our people by responding positively to the country's needs.

My Government attaches great importance to the promotion of the wider involvement of both the national and the foreign private sectors in the implementation of undertakings that can generate employment and contribute to the solution of the economic and social problems facing us today. In this connection, the Government has recently carried out a thorough review of the legislation on foreign investment, so as to simplify the legal proceedings in order to provide substantial incentives for foreign investment. In addition, my Government will continue to require international assistance in addressing vital issues pertaining to the reintegration of demobilized soldiers, returnees and displaced persons, as well as in taking actions aimed at eradicating poverty. These initiatives must be complemented by other actions aimed at promoting rural development and restoring primary health-care services in both urban and rural areas.

The ongoing de-mining programme will play an important role in the fulfilment of the Government's priorities in the years to come. If we are to consolidate the normalization of life in rural areas, increase food production and facilitate the movement of people and goods throughout the country, it is essential that the issue of land mines be addressed with high resolve. In this connection, I wish to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all those who have assisted and continue to assist my Government in carrying out this very important initiative. I had a very positive talk on this issue this morning with Mr. Peter Hansen, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs.

Those are, in summary, some of my Government's priorities. However, in order to maintain and further strengthen a truly democratic society, whose foundations have been established as a result of our recently held general elections, it is essential to ensure the adequate functioning of democratic institutions.

Accordingly, my Government regards it as of great importance to strengthen national institutions responsible for the maintenance of peace, tranquility and public order in our country as well as to ensure that the road on which we have just embarked is not blocked owing to lack of means. I have in mind the issue of the formation of the Mozambican Defence Force (FADM) — an issue which is yet to be fully addressed — and the strengthening of the role of the national police in ensuring, and its capacity to ensure, public safety. Moreover, we are determined to strengthen the judicial system so as to consolidate a real state of law.

The consolidation of the judicial system has been recognized as one of the most important elements in ensuring and guaranteeing the existence of true democracy in a country like ours — and I believe, in all developing countries — and in ensuring a system of checks and balances as well as transparency and accountability in the management of national affairs. Furthermore, there is general consensus that if we are to ensure true democracy in Mozambique, then we must create and consolidate a permanent electoral body which can guarantee the adequate supervision and monitoring of future elections. This should be an institution that is respected for its professionalism and transparency, and that thereby enjoys the necessary support of all political parties inside the country.

Those are some of the main areas where we believe the support of the Security Council is crucial. In this connection, my Government very greatly appreciates the assurances given by the Secretary-General in his recent letter to my predecessor — now Prime Minister — His Excellency Mr. Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, in which the Secretary-General indicated that despite the withdrawal of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), the United Nations will continue to assist Mozambique in strengthening the national reconstruction process and its new democratic institutions, as well as in its economic and social integration. We in Mozambique look forward to actively participating in and contributing to the materialization of these assurances.

I should like to seize this opportunity, as I speak today on the subject of economic and social integration, to draw the Council's attention to the growing concern over a possible threat to our fragile peace that might result from the consequences of a new and renewed drought in Mozambique and in the southern African region as whole.

My Government appreciates most sincerely the roles which the Security Council and the international community as a whole have played in helping us mitigate the devastating consequences of man-made and natural calamities which have ravaged our region. Nevertheless, I do believe it is my duty to encourage the Council to keep this issue under permanent review. As a matter of fact, human lives have already been lost in Mozambique as a result of the drought that is afflicting an ever-greater number of areas of my country.

For those reasons, my Government believes that the holding of the first multi-party general elections and the withdrawal of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique should not be regarded as ends in themselves. They are only the culmination of an important phase of the whole peace process and the beginning of a new and more challenging one. In our opinion, the need for the international community to continue to assist the people and the Government of Mozambique in consolidating peace and stability is more acute than ever before.

The presence of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique offers me an excellent opportunity to refer briefly to the overall issue of peace-keeping operations. Our vision — and, I am certain, that of many others among us today — is that peace-keeping forces will be successful only if they enjoy the support of the parties involved. On the other hand, they must strictly adhere to fundamental principles outlined by the General Assembly and respect their respective terms of reference as approved by the Security Council and in line with the agreement reached by the parties. In particular, as my predecessor argued in his statement to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session:

> "Where there is a Government, even with weak institutions, peace-keeping missions should work in close cooperation ... with the local authorities and respect and strengthen those institutions, rather than try to weaken or undermine them." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting, p. 37)*

Those observations remain valid today. I believe it is important to underline them because, as the Secretary-General indicated in his "Agenda for Peace", the State is and must remain the foundation-stone of the work of the United Nations.

In the case of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, we congratulate ourselves on its excellent and smooth communication with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative during the whole process. The existence of adequate communication is vital for the success of peace-keeping operations, for it helps to solve problems and crises as they arise. Above all, communication helps to restore confidence between the United Nations and the parties whenever necessary. To this end, may I recall the Secretary-General's visits to Mozambique at a time when the whole peace process seemed to be deadlocked, and of the Security Council's Mission at a time when it appeared unclear to the international community whether elections would be held as scheduled. Thanks to communication, we were able to resolve all difficulties and to bring the peace process to the successful conclusion we all celebrate today.

The consolidation of peace in Mozambique constitutes a significant contribution to peace in the southern African region, where we witnessed in 1994 significant developments in many of its countries. The holding of multi-party general elections in a number of countries of the region has been the central element of the ongoing democratic transformation we are experiencing.

The recent signing of the Lusaka Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Angola and UNITA constitutes a significant contribution to efforts for peace in our region. We sincerely wish to encourage both parties to take maximum advantage of the momentum created in Lusaka and to work together for a better future in their country. May I take this opportunity to underline the importance we attach to the early deployment of the third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). Our recent experience in this regard has shown that the sooner such a verification mechanism is established and deployed, the better for the success of the peace process. I would therefore urge the Council to look into this matter more diligently and expeditiously.

These developments lead us to believe in lasting peace and security in Mozambique and in southern Africa as a whole. My Government wishes to encourage all members of the Council to work towards this objective.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): I have the special honour and privilege to speak on behalf of the 11 States members of the Southern African Development Community

(SADC): Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and my own country, Botswana.

Let me first extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique. It is fitting that we should be graced by his presence in this historic Chamber as we celebrate the momentous changes that have taken place in his great country.

It is with immense joy that we salute the people of Mozambique and all their political leaders for doing what is right for their country. We salute their determination and strong commitment to fostering national reconciliation, peace and democracy. We especially admire their tenacious adherence to the General Peace Agreement signed on 4 October 1992, the orderly manner in which they conducted the elections and the respect they so clearly demonstrated for the verdict of the people of Mozambique. This has given Mozambique the best hope for durable freedom, democracy and peace. We have every confidence that the newly elected leadership will rise to the challenge and put the country on a firm footing in the furtherance of the aspirations reposed in them by the electorate.

The success story of Mozambique cannot be told without acknowledging the pivotal role played by the United Nations and the international community as a whole. The patience and goodwill so amply demonstrated by the Security Council over a period of two difficult years have enabled the people of Mozambique to sustain the peace process to its logical conclusion. The 10 resolutions adopted by the Council, as well as all presidential statements issued subsequent to the signing of the General Peace Agreement, contributed in no small measure to the success of the peace process.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Ajello, for the tireless efforts they deployed to ensure that the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) would achieve the glorious success it has achieved. The devotion and sacrifices of the men and women who served with ONUMOZ deserve our special appreciation and applause. The ONUMOZ success story is the story of the productive quality of their professionalism, which has crowned the United Nations peacemaking and peace-keeping exertions with success stories elsewhere.

The recurring theme of post-conflict peace-building — that there is an inexorable link between peace and development — has great significance and relevance for Mozambique. The daunting task of reconstruction and rehabilitation in Mozambique has begun. A durable basis for peace and security in that war-ravaged country lies in the social and economic uplifting of its people; and the international community is called upon to assist. The end of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and its complete withdrawal should not signal the end of this assistance. Continuous support should be given for social and economic development to ensure that there is no reversal of the gains made so far.

The response of the international community to the reintegration support scheme has so far been positive, and we hope that the momentum can be maintained, even accelerated. There is clearly an urgent need for enhanced cooperation with the Mozambican authorities in the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life. We trust that existing pledges of assistance will be honoured so that the Government can commence in earnest the process of training and equipping these men and women with technical skills for alternative employment.

In addition, as in many other areas recovering from the vicissitudes of armed conflict, the territory of Mozambique is littered with anti-personnel land mines. The idea that the mine-clearing equipment currently in use in Mozambique should be left behind when ONUMOZ finally withdraws is most welcome, and we hope that it will find favour with the relevant organs of the United Nations. Land mines, as we all know, are a menace to humanity. Mozambique needs to be rid of these indiscriminate tools of war so that its people can go about their daily lives and enjoy their new-found democratic rights in total freedom.

The leaders of southern Africa are working very hard to ensure that our region is not subjected to another war, or wars, after the resolution of conflicts in Mozambique, South Africa and Angola. The attainment of peace and democracy in Mozambique has consolidated the fundamental political changes which have swept the subregion in the past five years. It is our hope that the people of the sister Republic of Angola will soon see the end of the conflict that has marred their lives for so long and will join the people of Mozambique in celebrating the onset of real peace.

In this regard, we humbly request the Security Council to take a decision for the early deployment of a third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). The countries of southern Africa have had more than their share of conflict and suffering. It is time we enjoyed peace and democracy so that we can reconstruct our regional economy.

The solidarity and partnership of the peoples of the 11 members States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the pursuit of peace and development is clearly recognized. Collective and individual efforts exerted by the various member States in the search for peace in Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and South Africa bear clear testimony to this solidarity and partnership. We are now in the process of developing permanent mechanisms for preventive diplomacy and collective security based on a regional commitment to a system of shared democratic values.

Let me conclude by daring to hope that peace and democracy will flourish in Mozambique and that the destructive conflict from which the Mozambican nation has just emerged will be banished for ever.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): My Government is very pleased that we have this occasion to discuss in the Security Council the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) a few days before it successfully completes its mission. I especially welcome the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, on this occasion. I listened attentively to the very impressive statement he made before the Council.

Only two years after the General Peace Agreement was signed on 4 October 1992, its main goals have been achieved: a cease-fire, the dissolution and disarmament of the Government and RENAMO troops, the establishment of a joint defence force, the repatriation and reintegration of approximately 5 million refugees and internally displaced persons, and the holding of the first general presidential and parliamentary elections.

Even if the original time-frame turned out to be too ambitious and had to be changed, in the end a number of factors were decisive for the success of ONUMOZ. The most important prerequisite for the success of the peace process was the desire for peace on both sides. A continuation of the civil war, which could not have been won by military efforts, would have further devastated an already exhausted country. Both parties to the conflict realized this.

Even the most favourable circumstances, however, cannot prevent the development of crisis situations that threaten to derail the peace process. Tribute is due the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, for his tireless efforts to find creative solutions to the various unexpected difficulties along the way.

We would further like to mention the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, whose task was to guarantee the implementation of the Peace Agreement and compliance with the timetable and with the cease-fire. The active role played in the Commission by its international members, jointly with the representative of the United Nations, has turned it into an effective instrument to further the peace process. We should think about including similar mechanisms in future peace-keeping missions as well.

An important prerequisite for the implementation of the Rome Agreement was the establishment of the United Nations Trust Fund to provide logistical support. Its significance cannot be overestimated, since it enabled the opposition to participate in the peace process on an equal economic footing.

Even a success story may include some lessons to be learned. I want to mention just a few.

Peace-keeping operations will be even more successful when they embrace the principle of lean management. This holds true not only for Headquarters but also for the individual operations on site. Efficient management includes transparency and cost-effectiveness in the handling of tender offers.

The Mozambican experience demonstrates the importance of guaranteeing freedom of movement in the country for civilians and returnees from the very start of the mission. In order to ensure this, the mission should be capable of executing police tasks from the outset. The verification of the disarmament of conflicting parties should be concluded by the end of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation.

After almost 20 years of turmoil and suffering, the people of Mozambique now have the chance to build a better future for themselves. No one expects the road ahead to be easy. The weapons arsenals of both former

conflicting parties, arsenals that still exist in Mozambique, remain a cause for concern. The reconstruction of democratic institutions will continue to require political and material support from the international community.

Considering all that has been achieved in the last two years, however, we feel that we have reason to be optimistic about the future of Mozambique. I would therefore request Minister Simão to assure his people of our continued solidarity.

Finally, I want to associate myself fully with what will be said by the Permanent Representative of France on behalf of the European Union.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is a great pleasure for me to welcome the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão, and to thank him for his important and interesting statement to the Security Council.

We sincerely congratulate the people and the leaders of Mozambique on the successful holding of the first multi-party elections in the history of that country and the creation of a democratic coalition Government. This important event is a worthy culmination of Mozambique's progress along the difficult road to peace and consent and has marked the end of a lengthy period of destructive internecine conflict that brought untold suffering to the people of that country. The Russian Federation actively promoted the peace process in Mozambique and wishes the people and the Government of that friendly country, to which we are solidly linked by many years of fruitful cooperation, further success in creating a stable, democratic and flourishing State.

The successful implementation of the large-scale and complex task of effecting a political settlement in Mozambique was made possible by the consistent support of the international community and the staunch resolve of the Mozambicans themselves to break out of the vicious circle of violence and confrontation. An important and instructive role in this regard was played by President Chissano and the leaders of the Mozambican political parties, who, displaying a rare degree of political courage and statesmanlike wisdom and restraint, were able, for the sake of the higher interests of their country, to rise above the differences that had separated them for years and embark on the course of national reconciliation. We are convinced that this approach is the most reliable guarantee of success in carrying out the difficult tasks of the post-conflict stage in Mozambique.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ajello, for their skilful and determined efforts to bring the peace process in Mozambique to success. This became an important component in the consolidation of stability and security in the southern African region as a whole. The success of the complex and large-scale Operation in Mozambique is one of the most impressive examples of the real capacities of the United Nations in the field of peace-making.

During the three-year mandate of ONUMOZ, a great deal of meaningful and useful experience has been gained, which we believe deserves thorough study in order to further enhance the effectiveness of United Nations peace-keeping operations. In this connection, we look forward to the presentation of the Secretary-General's report containing an analysis of the lessons learned from the United Nations Operation in Mozambique. We are quite certain it will be an important contribution to our future work.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): I wish to join you, Mr. President, and the speakers who preceded me in extending a warm welcome to the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão. His presence at this table today symbolizes the return of his country to peace, unity, stability and progress. Henceforth Mozambique will be able to channel all its energies into healing the wounds of a protracted civil war and building a better future for all its people in a renewed spirit of harmony, respect and understanding. May I ask him to convey our congratulations to the leader of his country, President Chissano, who, together with the leader of RENAMO, Mr. Dhlakama, decided to set out on a path of dialogue and pacification by signing the historic General Peace Agreement, in Rome, on 4 October 1992, under the auspices of the Italian Government and the community of Saint Egidius. This process culminated a few months ago in the free and peaceful election of the President and the Parliament of Mozambique.

I fully associate myself in advance with the statement of the Permanent Representative of France, who will speak on behalf of the European Union. I do not have much to add, but I would be remiss if I did not take this opportunity to recall, not without some pride, Italy's special commitment to ending the civil war that divided Mozambique for almost 20 years.

The United Nations peace-keeping Operation in Mozambique marks a milestone in the history of our Organization's peace-keeping activities. This Operation is already often being cited as one of the true success stories of the United Nations in the application of the pertinent provisions of the Charter, which the founding fathers conceived of as a way to end the tensions and conflicts that have marked the history of this century. The Italian people, our Parliament and our Government are deeply gratified by the outcome of the process begun in Rome two years ago, and we are proud to have had a role in making it possible. Of course, it was a long, extremely difficult and complex negotiation, and sincere homage must be paid to both parties — the Government and RENAMO — and to all those who contributed to the final success through their tenacity, good faith and, above all, sincere willingness to compromise. Our colleague here at the United Nations, Ambassador Pedro Comissario Afonso, also lent a very skilful hand from New York, and we should acknowledge that.

But good offices and mediation alone would not have sufficed; military and financial commitments were equally necessary. In this regard, allow me to cite only three figures concerning the Italian contribution to Mozambique. To monitor observance of the peace agreements, together with other United Nations troops, my country deployed in Mozambique a total of 4,700 men, 650 vehicles and 11 aircraft, a contribution amounting to roughly $300 million, only a fraction of which was reimbursed by the United Nations.

Equally significant were the voluntary contributions — another $110 million — through bilateral and multilateral channels; and this does not include additional bilateral economic assistance.

Of course, the elections were the key element in the peace process, and we must again congratulate the Mozambican Government and RENAMO on keeping to their agreement and making possible what many had considered impossible: fair, impartial and free elections, with an 88-per-cent participation rate by Mozambican voters.

In the long term, some of the key aspects of ONUMOZ will represent a point of reference for other peace-keeping operations. A careful study of the presence and activity of the United Nations in Mozambique could contribute, we believe, to the deeper reflection currently under way on United Nations peace-keeping activities, in connection with the Secretary-General's recent important Supplement to the Agenda for Peace.

We also should remember that individuals play a crucial role in operations of this type. The professionalism, experience, negotiating talent and personal qualities of those involved — of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for instance — often can mean the difference between success and failure. From this perspective, we must pay tribute once again to the political stature and leadership of the Mozambican leaders, and also to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Aldo Ajello, and to all the on-site representatives of the donor countries, who operated at all times in close and effective coordination.

We should never tire of reminding ourselves that peace and development go hand in hand. They are the two sides of the same coin: there can be no peace without development, and no development without peace. I am glad to assure the Foreign Minister that Italy intends to continue in Mozambique to play a role on the front line of this phase of consolidating democracy and stability, which are so closely linked to economic development. The seeds of democracy in Mozambique will take root, but they are still fragile and in need of care. The stabilization of political institutions, in the meantime, will constitute a vital premise for the economic and social development to which the country so rightly aspires.

In this perspective, we believe that two fundamental conditions must be fulfilled. First, the international community must continue to maintain a high level of commitment to helping Mozambique, even when that country is no longer on the map of crisis areas. Secondly, a true policy of national reconciliation must continue to prevail in that country, one that would allow everybody to participate on an equal footing in its democratic life and institutions.

Let me conclude by wishing every success to Foreign Minister Simão and to the new, freely and democratically elected Government of Mozambique. It is our most sincere hope that the consolidation of freedom, democracy and development in Mozambique will set a shining example for other countries that, unfortunately, are still affected by civil war and internal strife.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): I should like to begin by welcoming to the Council the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique, His Excellency

Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, and to thank him for his very important statement.

The Nigerian delegation is particularly delighted that Mozambique, a brotherly country, has succeeded in overcoming a very difficult phase of its history in its effort to build a virile and united political entity. In this major effort, Mozambique has chosen, after the trauma of over 30 years of internal strife and political instability, to pursue the logic of peace. We cannot but commend the courage and vision of the Mozambican leadership in pursuing national reconciliation in the higher interest of the country.

The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) provides both a lesson in and an example of how to intervene in a conflict with the consent of the concerned parties and achieve the desired result. We commend the United Nations for this bold initiative and for sustaining it until a resolution of the problem was achieved. We hope that the model of this experience will be applied to other conflict areas in which the United Nations is involved. In evaluating the reasons for the overall success of this United Nations enterprise, we agree that a number of factors could be identified. However, one of the most salient, in our view, was the demonstrable interest and cooperation of the three observer States — the United States, the Russian Federation and Portugal — which, in conjunction with other members of the international community, generously invested their ideas and resources to make the peace process work.

National reconciliation remains but an important first step in a country's political development after the trauma of a protracted conflict. Mozambique needs resources to develop structures that were battered during the long years of civil strife. In the aftermath of the war, national rehabilitation, reconstruction and de-mining have become urgent, requiring the assistance of the international community. It is in this connection that we commend the significant contributions already made by the United Kingdom and Italy, among others, to institution-building and to the development of civil society in Mozambique. We call for continued support by the international community, including the United Nations, donor agencies and non-governmental organizations, in this regard. Having invested so much effort in helping to end the conflict in Mozambique, we cannot fail to assist in sustaining the peace.

In concluding, we wish to congratulate President Chissano on the dawn of a new era in Mozambique. We trust that the new Government will build on this achievement and consolidate the democratic process in the higher interest of national survival, well-being and development. The tasks ahead will by no means be easy, but we are confident that, together with the courageous people of Mozambique, it will undertake the journey ahead with determination and purpose. The Nigerian Government and people fully associate themselves with this expectation and would wish to assure the Government and people of Mozambique of their solidarity.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset it gives me great pleasure to welcome His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, and to thank him for his important statement.

The Security Council meets today on a happy occasion to mark the official closure of the United Nations Observer Mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). The situation in Mozambique has been a cause for concern to the international community for two decades. The first multi-party elections in Mozambique, last October, were undoubtedly a high-water mark in the history of that country. On behalf of the Sultanate of Oman, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to warmly congratulate President Chissano, Prime Minister Mocumbi and the Government and all the people of Mozambique on this historic achievement.

While we welcome the official closure of ONUMOZ, following the successful discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by resolution 797 (1992), we express the hope that the international community will continue to provide assistance to Mozambique in order to enable it to give due attention to economic and social reconstruction so that peace can be sustained.

Although the status quo in Mozambique is a cause for optimism, the Mozambican parties should continue their commitment to abide by the principles stipulated in the General Peace Agreement. It is also imperative that all parties should be guided by the spirit of national reconciliation, which has now become the trend, and should work together in order to reconstruct their country.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to congratulate the National Elections Commission on the excellent job done in arranging the overall democratic elections in Mozambique. We should also like to pay tribute to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, the

Security Council, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the international community, which has every right to be proud of its unrelenting support for the Mozambican peace process. The positive contribution of the Organization of African Unity to the efforts to establish a peaceful and durable solution to the conflict in Mozambique should not be overlooked.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): I should like to begin by extending a very warm welcome to the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão. It is a great pleasure to see him here and to have had the opportunity to listen to his important and encouraging statement.

The holding of free and fair elections in Mozambique in October last year represented a historic achievement for the people of Mozambique and for the international community. We pay tribute to the people of Mozambique, whose will for peace overcame all the obstacles, and who exercised their right to vote in such impressive numbers and in such a responsible manner.

The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) has been a success of which the United Nations can be justly proud. Its peace-keepers, military observers and civilian police made a vital contribution to the sustaining of peace and security throughout the country as it made the difficult transition from civil war to multi-party democracy. The Electoral Division and the many international and national electoral observers contributed to the effectiveness and credibility of the electoral process. My Government warmly congratulates the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, and the thousands of men and women who worked within the United Nations Operation in Mozambique on their skill and dedication. It is important that the lessons learned and the experience gained from ONUMOZ be put to good use in other United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The United Kingdom is proud to have played its part in support of the peace process, including bilaterally through assisting in the formation and training of the new armed forces and the provision of electoral observers, and through the assistance offered by the European Union, about which the Permanent Representative of France, speaking later in this debate on behalf of the European Union, will say more. The United Kingdom will, to the best of its ability, continue to support the people of Mozambique in their efforts to reconstruct the economic and social base of their country.

The international community has done much to help the people of Mozambique over the last two years, and its assistance will not come to an end when ONUMOZ is terminated on 31 January. But it can only help. It cannot determine the future of Mozambique; only Mozambicans can do that. If they show the same spirit of national reconciliation as they amply demonstrated in the two years from the signing of the Rome Accords to the holding of the elections, then the future will be bright. We look to both the Government and the democratic Opposition in Mozambique to work closely together to this end. If they do so, they can be assured of the full backing of the international community.

In conclusion, I would offer one New Year resolution to the new democratically elected Government of Mozambique — namely, that never again should this Council have on its agenda, as we have today, an item entitled "The situation in Mozambique". That would indeed be an achievement for the Government and people of Mozambique and for this Council.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* At the outset, I should like to warmly welcome His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão, Foreign Minister of Mozambique, to today's Council meeting and to thank him for delivering a very important statement.

The Chinese and African peoples share identical or similar historical experiences. China has all along been following closely the developments in Africa. We deeply sympathize with the conflict-torn African continent in the post-cold-war era and with its people for the suffering caused by conflicts. It has been an important component of China's foreign policy to support the African people in their endeavour to achieve lasting peace and strengthen friendly relations of cooperation with all African other countries.

His Excellency Mr. Qian Qichen, the Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of China, is now visiting Africa. In his meetings with leaders of African States, he said that the disintegration of the bipolar world has made a huge impact on Africa, which greatly needs an environment of peace, unity and stability. China attaches importance to Africa and supports the just demands and reasonable stand of African countries in international affairs. This is just what we are doing at the United Nations, including the Security Council.

Mozambique has now set out on the road of consolidating peace, the road of economic rehabilitation

and reconstruction, following the successful elections and the establishment of a new Government. The success in the Mozambican peace process has shown us that, even if there are numerous difficulties and hardships the conflicting parties can turn hostility into friendship and achieve the peace and stability to which the people ardently aspire, as long as, acting in their overall national interests, they have the necessary political will and persevere to achieve a political settlement through peaceful negotiations.

The international community — particularly the United Nations and donor countries — has made tremendous efforts and put in enormous resources for the settlement of the conflict in Mozambique. China not only participated in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), but also sent monitors to the elections in Mozambique. While engaged in in-depth discussions of the Secretary-General's "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace" (S/1995/1), people are summarizing the experience gained in ONUMOZ, which they hope will bring some inspiration and guidance to many other United Nations peace-keeping operations. In our view, the key to the success of ONUMOZ lies in the observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the adherence to the principles proven effective in traditional peace-keeping operations. That success was also dependent on the unswerving support of the international community, including that of the United Nations and the Security Council.

The Mozambican people are now faced with the arduous task of economic reconstruction, which calls for constant strong support from the international community. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, do whatever they can to help the Mozambican Government and people overcome the current difficulties and achieve economic and social development.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): I should like to take this opportunity to welcome Foreign Minister Simão to the Security Council today. I should like to commend him for his excellent statement this afternoon and for the stress he placed on political pluralism, national reconciliation and multi-party democracy in Mozambique.

This is an auspicious occasion. We mark the closing of one chapter in the history of Mozambique and the opening of another. The long-running conflict, and the United Nations peace-keeping operation it spawned, have drawn to a close. A new, democratic, cooperative future opens up before the Mozambicans, who have shown courage and fortitude in pursuing this new path.

The peace-keeping operation in Mozambique was one of the largest and most successful in United Nations history. Its success was due to the combined efforts of the Mozambican people, the member States of the international community, and the men and women of the United Nations. Each of these — from the most powerful to the least, from the leaders of Mozambique's political parties to the poorest citizen walking to a ballot box in the countryside, from senior officials in this grand building to the youngest private in a blue helmet who guarded a lonely road-crossing in the bush — all can be proud of what their work together has accomplished.

Of course, no operation runs perfectly and there are important lessons to be learned from the United Nations experience in Mozambique. But the final result, ending years of bloodshed in a peaceful election, refutes the arguments of those who claim that United Nations peace-keeping is a needless expenditure of money and blood with nothing to show for it. The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) demonstrates that, with commitment and determination, peace-keeping can work, assisting the transition from the horrors of war to the blessing of peace. After ONUMOZ has fulfilled its mandate and completed its withdrawal, the United Nations still has a role to play in Mozambique. The war-damaged infrastructure and economy of that country will require international assistance. Other residual effects of the war must be dealt with, including the thousands upon thousands of anti-personnel land-mines that still pose a threat to the civilian population and will hold back economic recovery for years to come. Also, the amount of arms and weapons which the United Nations has collected from demobilizing soldiers or found in hidden arms caches concerns us. We hope that the United Nations and the newly elected Government of Mozambique will collaborate in the destruction or disabling of these weapons, so that they do not find their way into the black market, and from there into neighbouring countries which themselves are trying to keep their fledgling democracies intact. We urge the Government of Mozambique to attend to this item urgently.

The reconstruction and rehabilitation of Mozambique can now go forward. My country will be there to help. We must bear in mind, however, that hopes for national unity and recovery can be realized only if Mozambique remains committed to democracy, economic reform and national reconciliation.

The critical work of reconciliation in Mozambique is far from over. Soldiers laying down their arms and citizens voting in an election are merely steps along the path: big steps — important steps — yes; but not the end of the journey. The Government and the people of Mozambique must continue this journey, including the process of political dialogue and reconciliation between the Government and the opposition. The people of Mozambique and the international community have invested too much to leave the work unfinished.

The United Nations has limited financial and human resources. But when the people of Mozambique asked for assistance it was willingly given. Now the international community will watch carefully to see how the people of Mozambique build on this investment. We all have a stake in continued peaceful progress in Mozambique. The people and the Government owe it not only to themselves but to all of us to forge ahead along the path we have helped them lay out. We believe they can do it. We look forward to following their progress and celebrating further milestones along the way.

It has been a gratifying personal experience for me to watch this important United Nations operation come to a successful conclusion. I visited Mozambique myself as part of the Security Council Mission last August, and I know the tremendous commitment to overcoming difficult circumstances which all the personnel of ONUMOZ displayed, led by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello. It is my fervent hope that in the coming months and years, the Council will be able to see other operations brought similarly to triumphant conclusions.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): I should like first of all to join other colleagues in welcoming the presence in our midst of the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão. My delegation would like to thank him for enlightening us, in a very comprehensive and detailed manner, on the recent important developments in Mozambique, as well as for the kind words addressed to the members of the Council.

My delegation commends the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in overcoming the obstacles to a peaceful solution to the question of Mozambique. Indeed, their untiring efforts have contributed to the accomplishment of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), and the successful conclusion of the free and fair elections in Mozambique held at the end of October 1994.

My delegation pays special tribute to all the United Nations personnel serving under the ONUMOZ mandate, especially because this has been successfully carried out from the inception of the mission.

We welcome the final report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, contained in document S/1994/1449 of 23 December 1994, and we fully agree with the "Observations" section of this report. Here, I should like to further emphasize two key factors as contributing to the remarkable achievement of peace in Mozambique: the strong commitment to peace and reconciliation shown by the Mozambican people and their leaders; and the special capability of the United Nations to promote favourable outcomes

> "when all forces join together in one common endeavour towards a common goal". *(S/1994/1449, para. 35)*

I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation of and respect for the positive role played by the Government of Italy in facilitating the signing of the General Peace Agreement on 4 October 1992. This Agreement became an important basis for the peaceful settlement of Mozambique's protracted conflict. In effect, the Mozambican peace process culminated in the peaceful and orderly election of 27 to 29 October 1994, because the conflicting parties had decided to cooperate, and subsequently participated in electing a new, representative and mutually acceptable Government. My Government finds that these outcomes are evidence that political will, expressed as the sustained determination to cooperate between or among conflicting parties, is the essential element required for attaining peace. Therefore, my delegation welcomes the contribution to peace made by all parties, and calls upon them to continue working together towards their country's reconstruction and future development.

At the same time, on behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, I should like to applaud the installation on 9 December 1994 of His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano as the new President of Mozambique. He has gained office following the first Mozambican multi-party elections conducted in a fair manner, and those elections have brought results accepted by all the country's political parties.

It is our sincere hope that the Government of Mozambique will succeed in all these endeavours.

Meanwhile, my Government urges support for the current troop demobilization scheme being implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with a focus on soldiers' reintegration into Mozambican society.

We also support the establishment of a national bureau to coordinate various de-mining activities and to ensure the continuance of a national de-mining programme as long as would prove necessary.

As stated by the Secretary-General in his last report, some issues remain to be pursued, such as the elimination of all armed caches and the safekeeping of collected weapons. The fundamental issue now facing Mozambique's leaders is how to further consolidate democracy so as to ensure the post-election stability and national reconciliation that will lead to a lasting peace.

As the peace process in Mozambique has come to a successful conclusion, the expectation of the Indonesian people and Government, as well as of the international community, is that those remarkable achievements can be followed by a concrete effort to improve the well being of all the Mozambican people.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): It is indeed a pleasure and an honour to have among us today His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, the Foreign Minister of the new Mozambique Government, whom I most cordially welcome on behalf of my delegation. He epitomizes the success story of his own people and their political leaders, and of United Nations peace-keeping. Traversing the period since 4 October 1992, when the opposing parties in the Mozambican civil war signed the General Peace Agreement in Rome, has not always been easy; not always has there been every ground for optimism. I recall a feature last year in *The New York Times* Sunday Magazine which dealt with developments in Mozambique almost as an example of all that can go wrong. And yet here we are, greeting in the personage of the Foreign Minister an accomplishment of great importance.

During last fall's general debate in the General Assembly, my Foreign Minister, Mr. Josef Zieleniec, highlighted the case of Mozambique as an important case study from which the appropriate lessons ought to be drawn. He suggested that the following were among the success factors at play here:

> "a well-crafted peace plan; a realistic mandate for the United Nations force; the fact that the politicians concerned put the interests of their country above all else; the tenacity of United Nations personnel in carrying out their mandate". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting, p. 15)*

The way we are trying to use these or similarly defined factors as a gauge in other operations as well is evident, for example, from the Secretary-General's reflections in his recent Supplement to the Agenda for Peace.

Even during this moment of celebration, though, we are all aware that success is not all-encompassing. The residue of its long civil war persists in the country in a number of ways. We are disturbed by the amount of weaponry that circulates freely. The Secretary-General's recent remarks concerning "micro-disarmament" are very pertinent in this context. Mine clearance will entail a long and arduous effort. And, conversely, fatigue with war has slowed the building up of the country's new democratic army.

Apart from these tasks, we see three types of challenges ahead: political ones, economic ones, and United Nations-connected ones.

Mozambique's democracy is very, very young and very fragile — and small wonder. Strengthening it will require careful nurturing for years to come. However, we are encouraged that in their election programmes both major parties declared their adherence to the important principles of protecting the peace and pursuing a policy of national reconciliation. Mozambique can and should become a model for other countries, especially in Africa, by demonstrating that winning elections does not necessarily lead to the arrogance of power and, conversely, that losing elections does not lead to political obliteration. Both of the country's major parties have over the years demonstrated their viability and both no doubt have contributions to make, in one form or another, to the country's future. It is hard to exaggerate how important a flourishing democracy in Mozambique will be for the stability of southern Africa as a whole, including tormented Angola.

Both parties also focused on raising living standards — and this is the country's second challenge. Mozambique is today one of the poorest countries of the world, when measured by the economic standards of its people, and even my quick visit there last year as a member of the Security Council Mission left me with an indelible impression of its poverty. The task of improving

the lot of the people will perhaps be the toughest of all. But the support for a market-economy development model which both parties profess is encouraging. In our experience, at least, it is the fastest way to mobilize hidden resources of entrepreneurship and industriousness that the country has, including for example those Mozambican expatriates who, having received international assistance to complete their studies abroad, have so far not returned, to contribute to their own country.

Given these political and economic issues, it is imperative that the United Nations maintain a strong and well-coordinated presence in Mozambique — and this is our third challenge. The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) — to which Czech military observers have also contributed — is leaving but we cannot in good conscience let the fragile success of peace collapse under the weight of a myriad of post-war problems. Peace-building, peace reinforcement, peace nurturing are what Mozambique needs, with the indispensable assistance of the international community, including the United Nations. This is not the time, and Mozambique is not the place, to let various United Nations agencies do their own thing without tight coordination and without strong political leadership. We therefore sincerely hope that the Secretary-General will maintain in Maputo a well-defined political presence.

The success of Mozambique is real but it has been greatly underreported. Dramatic successes are perhaps not as attractive to the press as dramatic failures. In the opinion of my delegation, though, what we have learned in Mozambique is extremely valuable not only in connection with one country, with one peace-keeping operation, but also as a model to be emulated in other peace-keeping situations. We congratulate once again the ONUMOZ force and its leaders, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Ajello, and Mozambique's political leaders — but, above all, we congratulate the people of Mozambique.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegations joins all those that have already participated in this debate in congratulating and welcoming His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, who is with us here today. We are most grateful for his statement.

My delegation welcomes the information that has been provided to us today by the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, which confirms what is stated in the latest — indeed, the final — report of the Secretary-General of 23 December 1994; namely, that the situation in Mozambique today is one of consolidated peace and that four elements of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) have been complied with, in conformity with the General Peace Agreement of 1992 — that is, the political, the military, the electoral and the humanitarian aspects. The operational design of ONUMOZ was based on those four components, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, was a very able coordinator.

Mozambique had to overcome many difficulties before it was at last able, with the resolute support of its people and the cooperation of our Organization, to reap the fruits of peace and internal stability.

The progress achieved in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement shows that the peace process in Mozambique is now real and irreversible. This is largely due to the strong commitment demonstrated by the Government of Mozambique to work together with the United Nations in the peace process. My delegation therefore expresses its gratitude to and solidarity with the people and Government of Mozambique. We congratulate the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination and the leadership of the forces on this success. We urge the international community to participate actively in Mozambique's reconstruction, rehabilitation and development, so that peace in that country can be consolidated and become permanent. As the Permanent Representative of Italy said:

> "peace and development ... are the two sides of the same coin: there can be no peace without development, and no development without peace." *(supra, p. 9)*

Mr. Munyampeta (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: It is a great honour and a great pleasure for me to warmly welcome His Excellency Foreign Minister Leonardo Simão of Mozambique. The delegation of Rwanda wishes to convey its deep gratitude to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique for all the very useful information he has just given the Council concerning the recent positive political developments in his country.

On behalf of the people and Government of Rwanda, my delegation wishes to pay a heartfelt tribute to His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Chissano, the first elected

President in the history of Mozambique, for his keen insight, his courage and his profound sense of democracy, the cornerstone of lasting peace in Mozambique. Naturally, the same tribute is due to the leaders of RENAMO, who unflinchingly committed themselves to the peace process in Mozambique.

I also wish to express my delegation's warm and heartfelt congratulations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique on his accession to his important position, which is an eloquent tribute to the great confidence the people and Government of Mozambique have placed in him.

The delegation of Rwanda cannot fail to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, our Security Council and the Organization of African Unity — in short, to the efforts of the entire international community — for their effective and indeed decisive contribution to the very successful outcome of the peace process in Mozambique.

My delegation welcomes the firm foundation that has been laid for democracy in Mozambique, a democracy with the added advantage of being multi-party. We also congratulate all its vital elements in Mozambique who resolved courageously, with good will, to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace together.

The great success of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) is a source of encouragement to the Security Council in its work and argues for the deployment of ONUMOZ III. Further de-mining efforts should be made in order to allow Mozambique to regain ground on which to carry out in peace the country's reconstruction and socio-economic development. I am well-placed both to know the cost of the horrors of war and to appreciate the very price to be paid for peace.

This is the occasion to express the hope that the arms dealers who, from near and far, fanned the flames of war in Mozambique, and who bear the grim responsibility of having participated in its destruction, will become Good Samaritans, ready to staunch the wounds of the sons and daughters of Mozambique and take part in its reconstruction and socio-economic development.

At a time when the international community is concerned with helping Africa to heal the wounds of the many victims of various conflicts, the delegation of Rwanda dares to hope that Mozambique's shining example will illuminate the path of national reconciliation and peace for the rest of the continent. We know that peace is the alpha and omega of all development. Happiness and long life in peace to Mozambique! Happiness and long life to multi-party democracy in Mozambique!

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Argentina.

On behalf of my country and my delegation, may I say that the presence of Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, Foreign Minister of Mozambique, honours us here today. We are most grateful for his informative statement and especially for his firm reaffirmation of his country's desire for tolerance and pluralism.

His presence here is a symbol not only of peace, but also of the complexity of the efforts that have sometimes been required to achieve and maintain it. That is why we are particularly enthusiastic about taking part in this meeting of the Security Council, which does not often have the satisfaction of celebrating, as it is today, the establishment of a Government elected in its country's first democratic and pluralistic elections, as is the case with Mozambique.

After 15 years of setbacks and struggle, it is clear that the determination to achieve peace and reconciliation has prevailed in Mozambique. The Argentine Republic commends the people of Mozambique for their civic maturity, their insight and their ability to leave behind a harsh past, look together to the future, and work towards that future. It is a future which, to be sure, will not be without its difficulties, but the positive involvement and effort of all members of Mozambican society will, we believe, make it possible to build that future successfully. The people of Mozambique deserve no less.

We also hail all who have been involved in this process for their tolerance and flexibility — virtues sadly lacking nowadays — and for their political will to achieve the peace of which I have spoken.

The new democracy will need to be strengthened. To that end, the parties concerned must pursue the process of national reconciliation based on a multi-party system and observance of democratic principles, making it possible to put in place lasting peace and political stability and to continue rebuilding the country.

My Government wants to highlight the international community's positive efforts, coordinated by the United Nations, which provided decisive support and assistance

to the peace process in Mozambique. We pay tribute to the leaders and personnel of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). Members will recall that my country had the honour of participating in the Operation, with its Air Force hospital. We highlight and applaud the contribution to the Mozambican peace process made by the Organization of African Unity and by neighbouring countries.

The Government of Mozambique will need to be tireless and determined in its reconstruction and development efforts; we are certain it can count on the necessary assistance and cooperation from the international community.

In conclusion, I convey to President Chissano and to the Government and the entire people of Mozambique our best wishes for a bright, peaceful future; to that end, they can rely upon the friendship and cooperation of the Government and the people of my country.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union.

The European Union would like first of all to welcome to the Security Council the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, who has honoured us with his presence here today.

In the past year, after nearly 20 years of conflict, Mozambique has experienced notable events. For the people of Mozambique, the elections held on 27 to 29 October 1994 were a decisive step forward and the culmination of the lengthy peace process that had started in earnest with the signing of the Rome Agreement on 4 October 1992.

In all, 88 per cent of the 6.4 million Mozambicans who had registered to vote went to the polls over three days to elect their President and their legislators. This shows how eager the Mozambicans, voting for the first time, were to turn a new page in their history.

This success resulted from a set of factors that deserve to be emphasized. First, the tale of Mozambique would not have had this happy ending without the determination to succeed displayed by the President of Mozambique, Mr. Chissano, and the President of RENAMO, Mr. Dhlakama, both of whom were motivated and encouraged by the Mozambican people's desire for peace.

Secondly, the European Union wishes to pay tribute to all who participated in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), and in particular to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, who supported the efforts of the Mozambicans to make the elections succeed by adapting ONUMOZ to the situation as required.

Finally, we must emphasize that the management of the case of Mozambique was exemplary with respect to efforts by the countries of the region and by the troop-contributing countries, and with respect to the involvement of donors in the process of implementing the Peace Agreement.

The European Union spared no effort on the Community-wide and bilateral levels to enable us today to say that the United Nations Operation in Mozambique has been a complete success. Suffice it to recall that 80 per cent of the election expenses were defrayed by the European Union, which during the balloting provided 200 observers in addition to those serving as United Nations international observers.

The European Union intends to continue its Community-wide and bilateral efforts to promote peace-building in Mozambique. In its resolution 957 (1994) of 15 November 1994, the Security Council set 31 January 1995 for the withdrawal of ONUMOZ. Clearly, the Mozambicans will not be abandoned after that date. United Nations specialized agencies will replace the blue helmets to coordinate the development and growth of the country in order to consolidate the new peace. We appeal to the Secretary-General to ensure that this takes place.

It is for that very purpose that the European Union will continue its assistance. All Mozambicans must be able to see their ballot transformed into a road map to democracy and progress.

In that connection, the European Union attaches great importance to true national reconciliation. We hope that sincere cooperation between the majority and the opposition will be among the new Government's priorities. We think the opposition ought to be represented both at the governmental and at the local level. The European Union stresses that peace in

Mozambique deserves participation by all Mozambicans in its consolidation.

More broadly speaking, the European Union notes that the success of the operation in Mozambique, following the elections in South Africa, is a source of encouragement for the process of democratization and progress throughout southern Africa. We hope that Angola will follow Mozambique's example and soon rejoin the ranks of democratic countries advancing towards political renewal and economic and social development.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): For more than two years, the Security Council has followed with keen interest and concern the evolution of the situation in Mozambique. My delegation is extremely pleased that the Security Council has decided to hold a debate on an issue the outcome of which has been very much welcomed by the entire international community. Gathered here today, in a far different atmosphere and with a clearly different purpose, the Council is considering the conclusion of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

First of all, I would like to welcome very warmly His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique, and thank him for the very comprehensive statement he made. His thorough analysis of the situation clearly demonstrates the magnitude of the achievements attained by the implementation of the Rome peace accord. My delegation was particularly impressed by his words, in the light of the huge challenges facing his Government in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of his country.

It is a known fact that Brazil feels very closely linked to Mozambique, given our common historical, cultural and ancestral ties. We maintain with that sister country an intense relationship that both Governments have been continuously nurturing over a long period of time. With the successful conclusion of the peace process, as provided for in the accords of 1992, our relations are bound to grow even closer at a moment when Mozambique takes decisive strides on the path of peace, stability and economic and social development.

The meeting today should result in an appraisal of the collective effort of the international community towards ensuring peace and stability in a country ravaged by conflict for well over a decade. The accomplishment of the Operation just concluded has decisively contributed to the elimination of the horrors of war and the creation of an environment allowing political negotiation to prevail over confrontation, and understanding over suspicion.

There is no better way to successfully conclude a peace process than to abide by the wishes of the people. The general elections held in October 1994 represent a milestone for the country. The elections were conducted in a remarkably peaceful and orderly manner. The massive participation of voters, just shy of 90 per cent, clearly indicates the desire of an entire people to actively participate in the shaping of the future of their country. It also signifies the strong will of Mozambicans to start a new period in their history, leaving behind war and suffering. It should also be noted, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, that all Mozambican political parties have accepted the results of the elections. This is an obvious indication that peace, stability and democracy are part of an irreversible process in Mozambique, dispelling the fears of some Member States that the elections might not be free and fair.

My Government has consistently supported the United Nations efforts to bring peace to Mozambique, both as a member of the Security Council in the biennium 1993-1994, when the Council was actively seized of the matter, and as a troop contributor to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). A Brazilian military officer, General Lélio Rodrigues, had the privilege of being the first force commander of ONUMOZ. Later, in 1994, Brazil sent an infantry company that was deployed in the region of Zambézia and contributed actively to the process of assembly of troops and demobilization.

We have also consistently stressed our position that ONUMOZ, as well as any other peace-keeping operation of the Organization, should be established and deployed in the name of the United Nations as a whole, and not of the Security Council alone. My delegation has repeatedly underscored the two main policy principles that have guided our position. First, peace-keeping operations must be aimed at contributing to alleviating tensions and promoting peace in regional conflicts that pose a threat to peace and stability. Secondly, peace-keeping operations must be absolutely impartial if they are to implement their mandates successfully. These operations constitute an important means to assist in the implementation of agreements to which the parties have freely committed themselves.

The success story of ONUMOZ allows us to draw some conclusions on ongoing and future United Nations efforts in the field of peace-keeping. To be effective, these operations have to be adequately staffed and equipped; delays in their deployment are to be avoided at all costs.

Most important is the need to persevere in the search for peace when the commitment to national reconciliation prevails among the parties. No precipitate reduction or withdrawal of the personnel of any operation should occur without prior determination of the impact on the operation's capability to discharge its mandate successfully.

In the specific case of Mozambique, fortunately, the Council in its wisdom avoided a premature reduction of the military component of ONUMOZ at a crucial moment in the peace process, when demobilization was still under way and the formation of the new defence force had barely begun. We have always stressed that if peace has its costs, the absence of peace is even costlier.

Peace in Mozambique was possible because of a combination of domestic and international factors. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, together with the force commander and all the personnel of ONUMOZ — military, civil police and civilian staff — deserve our recognition for the successful conclusion of the mission.

Although the support provided by the international community was substantial and decisive, the Operation owes its success to the unequivocal commitment to peace of the people of Mozambique as a whole and, in particular, that of President Joaquim Chissano. My delegation pays its sincerest tribute to his leadership, political wisdom and true statesmanship, which played a vital role in the successful conclusion of the peace process. Our recognition is extended to the people of Mozambique, who must receive the ultimate praise for the success story of ONUMOZ.

Finally, we would like to express our hope that the successful trend which started in South Africa, has now been repeated in Mozambique and is being extended to Angola can indeed spread northward in Africa and, hopefully, to other peace-keeping operations in troubled areas in other continents.

As we witness the dawning of a new era in Mozambique, the international community should, in order to reaffirm its commitment to the welfare of that country and of the entire subregion, shift its efforts from peacemaking to reconstruction, rehabilitation and development in Mozambique. Brazil stands ready to continue to do its part.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* the next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Karsgaard (Canada): I would first like to warmly welcome the presence today in the Security Council of His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão, Foreign Minister of Mozambique.

I would also like to express Canada's admiration for the courage and determination shown by the people of Mozambique and their political leaders during the transformation that has taken place since the signing of the Peace Agreement in Rome in October 1992. After years of war, Mozambique is now making a new start. The process was at times frustrating and slow, but it has been distinguished by a strong commitment to lasting peace by both of the parties to the Agreement. That desire for peace was most evident in the high level of participation in last year's elections and the fervent determination of Mozambique's election officials to ensure that the voting was conducted freely and fairly.

We are encouraged by the role that the United Nations has played in Mozambique. It has demonstrated once again the readiness of the international community to help implement the numerous and varied provisions of a comprehensive peace agreement. It also confirms our belief in how much can be accomplished through multilateral action if the mandates set by the Council are achievable, the time-frames remain realistic, our approach is flexible and the commitment to peace among the parties involved is genuine. The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) undertook a complex task that required a high degree of cooperation and coordination between United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, non-governmental organizations and the parties to the Peace Agreement. That cooperation and coordination was largely sustained throughout the two-year life of ONUMOZ, and the objectives were achieved. A good measure of the credit for this success must go to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, who discharged his duties with determination and skill.

The overall accomplishments of the operation should not, however, keep us from re-examining the events of the past two years to identify areas where improvements

or changes can be made. We are thinking, in particular, of delays in the deployment of ONUMOZ and of difficulties encountered in the launching of the de-mining programme. At the same time, we should also look at what worked well, to learn from our successes. Certainly this should include the effectiveness of the demobilization programme and the fact that the elections themselves went remarkably smoothly, under difficult circumstances, thanks in part to the useful support provided by the United Nations Development Programme to the National Elections Commission.

Canadians are proud to have contributed to the successful conclusion of the peace process in Mozambique through our bilateral and multilateral assistance, as well as through our participation in ONUMOZ. Mozambique is currently the largest recipient of Canadian aid in Africa. Much of the over $100 million we have provided during the past two years has directly benefited the peace process; it has included food aid, grants for refugee repatriation, support for troop demobilization and electoral assistance.

(spoke in French)

We should also acknowledge and commend the contribution of Mozambique's neighbours in southern Africa in sustaining the momentum for change and democracy in Mozambique, both by their example and through their direct involvement. The informal cooperation that now exists on security issues in the region and the conclusion of more formal economic cooperation arrangements have contributed significantly towards building confidence in the prospect of a more secure, democratic and prosperous future for southern Africa. Canada is encouraged by these developments and supports the efforts now under way to enhance the capability of regional organizations and the Organization of African Unity, not only to contribute to the resolution of conflicts but, more importantly, to prevent other conflicts.

The withdrawal of ONUMOZ and the formation of a new Government in Maputo mark the end of the formal peace process. The building of a sustainable democracy is now beginning. We wish Mozambicans every success as they confront the challenges of national reconciliation and reconstruction. We also urge the new Government to respect the political diversity of its nation, to promote accountable government, to defend human rights and to consult broadly as it develops its plans for the future. For our part, I wish to assure the Council that Canada will continue to offer financial and technical assistance to Mozambique as it meets these challenges.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Maruyama (Japan): It was with great pleasure that I listened to the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Leonardo Simão, in which he described the optimism of the people of Mozambique as they embark upon the task of national reconstruction and development. I am delighted to have this opportunity to congratulate him and the other members of the Cabinet of the duly elected President of the Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, on the assumption of their respective posts.

I should also like to express my deep appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Aldo Ajello, and to all the men and women involved in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), which promoted the peaceful settlement of the situation there. Japan heartily welcomes the success of the United Nations effort, which culminated in the establishment of a democratic Government in Mozambique. I am pleased to note that members of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces and Japanese electoral observers participated in that effort.

ONUMOZ will surely be counted among the most successful United Nations peace-keeping operations. I believe it succeeded for the following reasons.

First, the conflicting parties were clearly supportive of the peace process sponsored by the international community, and strictly observed the cease-fire. It should also be noted that the United Nations remained committed to the effort and insisted that both the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO cooperate in advancing the peace process.

Secondly, building upon the experience gained in Angola, the United Nations Operation focused on demobilization and, in an effort to address the needs of demobilized soldiers, established civilian technical units.

Thirdly, ONUMOZ operated flexibly, making the most effective use of a limited number of personnel. Indeed, the importance of this point should not be underestimated, and it should serve as a lesson for the conduct of future operations.

Finally, the peace process in Mozambique enjoyed the strong support of the United Nations, centring on ONUMOZ, and of the entire international community. The mobilization of donor countries to finance the reconstruction and redevelopment of Mozambique was an especially significant element in the Operation's success.

Peace has finally been achieved in Mozambique, but the long and laborious task of national reconstruction still lies ahead. If peace is to take firm hold, it is essential that the principles and the spirit of democracy be disseminated throughout the country and national reconciliation efforts accelerated. There are many obstacles to be overcome, however. The elimination of anti-personnel land-mines is just one of the urgent problems that must be addressed. Reconstruction of the war-ravaged infrastructure and the reintegration into civilian society of demobilized soldiers are also problems of pressing concern.

Clearly, the people of Mozambique will require the continued support of the international community for the foreseeable future. My Government, for its part, will continue to contribute to the reconstruction of Mozambique and to the stability of southern Africa.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: The delegation of Egypt would like, at the outset, to thank and congratulate the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, for his very thorough statement, during which he referred to the political developments in his country as well as his Government's efforts to initiate a new stage in the reconstruction of the country's civilian infrastructure and to restore its public utilities.

Egypt has followed with interest the evolution of the situation in Mozambique since the beginning of the crisis. It is very happy that the operation culminated successfully in the peace settlement and that the free and honest elections, successfully held and observed by the international community, resulted in the Government that is now in power.

The success of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) is a further episode to the credit of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping. This success was not the result of chance; on the contrary, it was the natural outcome of a series of factors, the most important of which was the presence of a genuine political will on the part of both parties to the conflict and total respect for their commitments, including the efforts made by the United Nations, represented by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, who was assisted by the positive efforts of influential States, which encouraged the parties involved to respect the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and national reconciliation and the wishes of the Mozambican people.

We should like to refer in particular to the very constructive role played by Italy in the achievement of this objective. The Security Council, which is now examining the future of peace-keeping operations undertaken by this Organization, should focus on an analysis of the factors that made for the success of the operation in Mozambique, with a view to drawing on them in the future.

Despite the important positive outcome of the Mozambican situation, there are still large security, economic, social and humanitarian problems. The new Government cannot deal with these problems on its own; it needs the support and assistance of the United Nations agencies and bodies to overcome the negative aftermath of the conflict. I refer in particular to the massive flow of refugees who are returning and need to be repatriated — about 1 million of them, in addition to about 3 million displaced persons within or outside the national frontiers.

In addition, it will be necessary to create a new national army, following completion of the task of disarming both the parties, in order to stabilize the situation. It will also be necessary to carry out de-mining operations and to reinitiate the process of strengthening confidence between the political parties in Mozambique. For its part, Egypt, having participated in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique and having been an observer of the elections, commits itself to providing the Government and people of Mozambique with all possible supoort and assistance in their efforts to rebuild the State and its infrastructures.

The Egyptian delegation would also like to reiterate the importance of the new role that it is incumbent on the United Nations to play in Mozambique — a role that is no less important than the one played by the Organization at the previous stage — particularly with respect to efforts to rehabilitate approximately 90,000 combatants of the former Government Army and the RENAMO forces, on an equal footing, and to integrate them into civilian

life to take part in the process of national reconstruction and the development of Mozambique, as well as the training of approximately 450 troops in de-mining. Here, I should like to say that Egypt awaits with some interest the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council. That will contain his recommendations with regard to the future role that the international Organization might play at the political, humanitarian and economic levels in Mozambique.

In conclusion, I should like once again to address my thanks and congratulations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique. I wish him every success in his arduous task. We congratulate the friendly and fraternal people of Mozambique from the bottom of our hearts.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Catarino (Portugal): Allow me first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the very able manner in which you have steered the work of the Council throughout the month of January. A very special word of appreciation is also due for the efforts of your delegation in keeping Member States very well informed, on a daily basis, about the work of the Council. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Bakuramutsa, on his work as President of the Council in December.

I take this opportunity to welcome very warmly His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Leonardo Santos Simão, whose presence here today clearly reflects the significance his Government attributes to the role that the United Nations has played and will continue to play in Mozambique.

The Permanent Representative of France has already spoken on behalf of the European Union, and Portugal associates itself fully with that statement. I should like, however, to add a few words on this question, which is of particular importance to my country.

I need not remind the Council of the special relationship that exists between Portugal and Mozambique, resulting from historical ties consolidated during the course of centuries, which today is embodied in the profound friendship between the two peoples and in the close cooperation between the two countries. It was therefore with a profound sense of pleasure that Portugal witnessed the positive manner in which the peace process in Mozambique was carried out.

Portugal played an active role throughout the process, from the very beginning. As an observer of the peace negotiations, we participated fully in the process that led to the signing of the General Peace Agreement. We then contributed significantly to its implementation on the ground. We took part in all the international commissions created by the General Peace Agreement, as well as in the Joint Commission for the formation of the armed forces of Mozambique. Portugal was entrusted with the task of forming three battalions of special forces, one company of marines and a number of logistics units.

In addition, Portugal has supported the organic and conceptual reorganization of the armed forces through the dispatch to Mozambique of a specialized team composed of 100 officers and non-commissioned officers. Without a doubt, our common language and the profound mutual understanding between our peoples were decisive factors in the success of these actions.

Portugal also actively participated in ONUMOZ, both in its command structure and by sending a communications battalion which guaranteed, with great technical competence I might add, the communications network of that Operation throughout the implementation of the peace process. We also deployed close to 60 police officers to the ONUMOZ contingent of civilian police observers, which played a crucial role in the successful outcome of the peace process.

A Portuguese judge was one of the members of the electoral tribunal. Portugal was also present in the international monitoring effort through the deployment of 42 observers, 30 of whom were part of EUMOZ, the electoral monitoring operation of the European Union established following a proposal put forward by my country.

The Portuguese Government has always held that only through the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement will the parties be able successfully to complete the process designed to bring to an end the suffering of a people burdened by many years of war. At a decisive moment, the Mozambican people showed in a civil and serene manner through an impressive turnout at the polls that, regardless of whom they voted for, they fundamentally desired peace. The political leaders of Mozambique, encouraged by the positive examples in the region, also contributed towards bringing about the tide of stability that has emerged. The outcome of the peace process in Mozambique represents a further step towards

the development and progress of a democratic southern Africa.

Naturally, the role of the United Nations in this process has been crucial. At this point, I should like to pay tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and in particular to his Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, who always found a way out at critical moments in a process that demanded not only a mediatory role but also one of bringing the parties closer together and promoting understanding between them.

I would be committing an injustice if I did not equally pay tribute here to the work carried out by this body, the Security Council, which, throughout the peace process, showed in a clear manner the importance placed by the international community in, and its commitment to, a successful implementation of the General Peace Agreement. At a very delicate stage of the process, the Security Council did not hesitate to send a mission to Mozambique, which enhanced the impact and credibility of ONUMOZ, as well as a better understanding of the manner of ensuring the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement within the established time-frame.

It is true that the role of the international community has been extremely important over the last two years. It should not, however, end here. We have witnessed the process of pacification and democratization of Mozambique. It is now essential to support the consolidation of democracy. This will be the only way of guaranteeing, over the long term, the fruition of the investment made by the international community.

We therefore appeal to the international community to maintain its efforts now and to support, at both the bilateral and the multilateral levels, the reconstruction and development of Mozambique in such a way as to guarantee the consolidation of peace and democracy in that country.

The recent positive developments that have occurred in the region have had a positive influence on the choices made by the Mozambicans. Similarly, there can be no doubt that the consolidation of peace and democracy in Mozambique will contribute significantly to regional stability.

It is therefore necessary to continue on the path of the process, already under way, of the reconciliation of the Mozambican family and of an institutionalized democracy, in which all can contribute usefully to the development of the country in an atmosphere of mutual respect and observance of democratic principles. This evolution will also depend on the Mozambican people's perception of their future prospects. It is therefore essential that the international community provide the necessary assistance which ensure these prospects of progress and sustainable development, particularly through the international financial institutions.

On our part, we remain committed to taking on a front-line role in helping in the reconstruction of Mozambique. In this context, I should like to point out that Portugal's largest foreign-investment project relates to the Cahora Bassa dam, an enormous undertaking which we hope will come to benefit in a significant manner, particularly in the key sector of energy, the economy of Mozambique, as well as those of other countries in the region.

Nearly 18 years of civil war certainly planted some seeds of mistrust. We are confident that the continued effort and commitment of the international community and the political and civil maturity already shown by the Mozambicans will prevent those seeds from taking root and will allow Mozambique to live in a new era of peace and prosperity.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Portugal for the kind words he addressed to my delegation, especially with regard to our work.

There are no further speakers.

On behalf of all my colleagues on the Security Council I should like to thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mozambique for his presence here, to wish him a happy return to his country and, above all, to wish him all success in the task he is pursuing for his people.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3495

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3495th Meeting

Monday, 30 January 1995, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Wilmshurst
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (S/1995/66)

95-85092 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (S/1995/66)

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon for the period from 21 July 1994 to 20 January 1995, document S/1995/66.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/81, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/45 and, in English only, S/1995/45/Corr.1, letter dated 16 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/58, letter dated 18 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1995/81) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 974 (1995).

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has noted with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (S/1995/66) submitted in conformity with resolution 938 (1994) of 28 July 1994.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. In this context, the Council asserts that any State shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

"As the Security Council extends the mandate of UNIFIL for a further interim period on the basis of resolution 425 (1978), the Council again stresses the urgent need for the implementation of that resolution in all its aspects. It reiterates its full support for the Taif Agreement and for the continued efforts of the Lebanese Government to consolidate peace, national unity and security in the country, while successfully carrying out the reconstruction process. The Council commends the Lebanese Government for its successful effort to extend its authority in the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL.

"The Security Council expresses its concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon, regrets the loss of civilian life, and urges all parties to exercise restraint.

"The Security Council takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff in this regard and commends UNIFIL's troops and troop-contributing countries for their sacrifices and commitment to the cause of international peace and security under difficult circumstances."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/4.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3496

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3496th Meeting
Monday, 30 January 1995, 10 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti (S/1995/46 and Add.1)

95-85098 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti (S/1995/46 and Add.1)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belize, Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Laing (Belize), Mr. Fowler (Canada) and Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti, documents S/1995/46 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/85, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, France, Germany, Honduras, Italy, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents:

S/1994/1377, letter dated 5 December 1994 from the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the sixth report of the Multinational Force in Haiti;

S/1994/1430, S/1995/15 and S/1995/70, letters dated 19 December 1994, 9 and 23 January 1995, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the seventh, eighth and ninth reports of the Multinational Force in Haiti, respectively;

S/1995/55 and Add.1, letter dated 18 January 1995 from the representatives of Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Poland, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council; and

S/1995/90, letter dated 27 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) *(interpretation from French)*: The honour and responsibility of presiding over the Security Council for the current month have been vested in you, Sir, and in your country, Argentina. I am very pleased to see you conducting the deliberations with so much understanding and dedication. Your wealth of diplomatic experience and your professional and human qualities are tangible contributions to the success of the Council's work.

The delegation of Haiti welcomes the opportunity the draft resolution gives us both to express the support of the Haitian Government for the text itself and to demonstrate its support for the recommendations contained in the report (S/1995/46) of the Secretary-General, dated 17 January 1995, on the question concerning Haiti.

On 31 July last year, the Security Council adopted resolution 940 (1994), which authorized the creation of

a multinational force whose mandate it was to create conditions for the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement of 3 July 1993 — in particular, the creation of an environment conducive to the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti. Today, we can say that such an environment exists.

Since the peaceful deployment on 19 September 1994 of the Multinational Force, the Governors Island Agreement has been progressively implemented. Those who usurped political power have withdrawn; the legitimate authorities have resumed their functions; constitutional order has been re-established; and President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has resumed his position as Head of State. Currently, an electoral commission is preparing for the forthcoming legislative and municipal elections.

The joint United Nations-Organization of American States International Civilian Mission in Haiti, which has resumed its activities in Haiti, has noted a considerable improvement in the human rights situation. It recognizes that the Haitians now enjoy their fundamental rights — in particular the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of assembly. To help establish an atmosphere of peace, since his return to the country on 15 October 1994 President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has waged a tireless campaign to promote tolerance and national reconciliation.

Accordingly, we have every reason for hope in Haiti. The Haitian Government therefore wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Friends of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti, the States members of the Security Council, the participants in the Multinational Force and the leadership of the United States, whose commitment contributed to the success of the Multinational Force in Haiti.

Nevertheless, the confidence of the Haitian people in a better future is tempered by what they see as the possible survival of the *coup d'état* regime; the activities of a network of their former oppressors, including former members of the Haitian armed forces, paramilitary groups, such as the terrorist organization FRAPH, and the former section heads and *attachés*; the widespread availability of weapons accumulated during the three years after the *coup*; and the inability of the Haitian judicial system to satisfy the demands of the victims of the *coup d'état*.

The Haitian Government is aware that urgent measures need to be taken to address this problem. Two commissions have therefore been established to study the reform of the armed forces of Haiti and the creation of a police force in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution. Reforms are under way in the judiciary. The Government is waiting only for the United Nations Mission in Haiti to be deployed in order to assist it in these tasks, as promised under the Governors Island Agreement and resolution 861 (1993) of 27 August 1993.

The Haitian delegation therefore sincerely hopes that the Security Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution, as a sign of the continued support of the international community for the democratization of Haitian society.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to take this opportunity to give a cordial welcome to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and to all the members of the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I thank the representative of Haiti for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) *(interpretation from French)*: The Security Council is meeting tonight to decide on a new step in the international community's continued commitment to the restoration of peace and democracy in Haiti. Four months ago, the multinational coalition authorized by the United Nations arrived in Haiti. Then, on 15 October, President Aristide returned to his country.

Since then, much progress has been made. A new Government has assumed office, Parliament is working freely again, the human rights situation has improved dramatically, and the legislative elections, to be held this spring, are approaching. The Haitians have begun to enjoy rights and freedoms denied them for the past three years.

The multinational coalition, led by the United States, has contributed to the creation of the environment necessary to enable Haitians to begin to build a peaceful, stable and democratic society. We commend the efforts of all those who are participating in this mission.

The time has come to begin the transition from the multinational coalition to the United Nations Mission in

Haiti (UNMIH), as envisaged in resolution 940 (1994). The draft resolution the Council will consider tonight affirms the existence of the secure and stable environment required for the deployment of UNMIH and envisages that the transfer from the Multinational Force in Haiti (MNF) to UNMIH will be completed by 31 March this year.

This transition underlines the continuity of the international community's commitment in Haiti. Planning for the transfer is well under way. The United Nations and the Multinational Force are working in close cooperation so that it will go smoothly. Many of those now in the MNF will stay on with UNMIH, which shows clearly the link between the two operations.

Canada is firmly committed to participating in this process and will make an important contribution to UNMIH. Canadian police and military personnel are already on the ground, heading the team now preparing the hand-over.

(spoke in English)

While the security environment in Haiti has improved sufficiently to allow for the transition from MNF to UNMIH, we agree with the Secretary-General's observation that the situation remains fragile, and we support his assessment of the challenges faced by Haitians in consolidating security and stability. For this reason, we join him in urging the multinational coalition to work actively to improve the security situation in the time remaining before the hand-over to UNMIH. In particular, we would encourage the MNF to pursue disarmament programmes energetically.

Maintaining law and order is the biggest challenge facing Haitian authorities. The interim public security force lacks experience and expertise. UNMIH will provide additional training and will monitor its activities in order to make the force more effective in carrying out its law-and-order functions. We fully support the increase in UNMIH's civilian police component for this purpose. However, it is important to underline that UNMIH's responsibility remains to assist, not to replace, Haitian efforts in sustaining a secure and stable environment.

The current situation also makes it essential that there be no delays in training and deploying a permanent Haitian police force and that improvements to the judicial system be undertaken rapidly. Canada will work with the Haitian Government to establish a national police, as we have already done with regard to the creation of the interim security force. Close to 100 Haitians trained in Canada will arrive in the coming weeks to join the new police force. In the months ahead we will also be providing support to make the judicial system more effective.

Continued assistance from the international community aimed at helping Haitians rebuild their economy remains key in consolidating stability. The link between economic and social development, on the one hand, and peace and security, on the other, is nowhere more evident than in Haiti. Since President Aristide's return, Canada has disbursed over $30 million in support of national reconstruction efforts.

While the difficulties ahead remain daunting, Haitians are making progress in restoring democracy and establishing peace and stability. The international community has played an active role in supporting this process. The transition from MNF to UNMIH outlined in the draft resolution, which we are pleased to co-sponsor, fully reflects this ongoing commitment.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The next speaker is the representative of Belize. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Laing (Belize): I wish to thank the members of the Security Council for granting our request to participate in the discussion on the important item before the Council tonight. In this regard, I have the honour to address the Council on behalf of the 12 States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which are Members of the United Nations: Antigua and Barbuda, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Barbados, the Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, the Republic of Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, and my own country, Belize, and also on behalf of the Republic of Suriname.

As the Council is aware, the Governments and the peoples of the CARICOM States have been active parties in the efforts to create a just and democratic order in Haiti. With deep fraternal concern, our Governments participated actively in the efforts for international monitoring of the democratically elected Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and we repudiated the actions that removed him from power. We were therefore proud to be able to contribute, to the extent that our limited security capabilities permitted, in the formation of the Multinational Force (MNF) authorized under

paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 940 (1994). The deployment of the Multinational Force in Haiti, on 19 September 1994, represented the first phase in the international community's delicate and difficult undertaking to restore to office the democratically elected Government of President Aristide and to assist that Government in the economic, social and institutional reconstruction of its devastated country.

The Governments of the CARICOM States and the Republic of Suriname were greatly encouraged by the fact that the deployment of Multinational Force into Haiti took place under peaceful circumstances. We continue to be encouraged by the effective manner in which it has carried out its important mandate in the four months that it has been on the ground in Haiti. Our Governments have concurred with the assessment of the Commander of the Multinational Force that a secure and stable environment now exists in Haiti, and we have been pleased to join other participants in the MNF in recommending that the Security Council determine that it is appropriate for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to begin assuming its full range of functions.

We therefore fully support the decision concerning this matter contained in the draft resolution before the Security Council. Many of our Governments will also participate in the next phase, under the aegis of UNMIH, in testimony of our deep commitment to the process of creating the conditions necessary to ensure that the fledgling Haitian democracy is maintained and strengthened.

The current situation in Haiti gives us much cause for hope. At the same time, however, there is no room for complacency. In his report to the Council, the Secretary-General has stressed that the relative security currently enjoyed by the Haitian people remains fragile and that the political and social environment now prevailing contains many factors that could lead to future instability. It is vital that the present security situation in Haiti should be sustainable after the departure of the Multinational Force and the full deployment of UNMIH. For this reason, CARICOM Governments and Suriname feel compelled to stress the need for effective deterrence to continue after the hand-over to UNMIH and to respond to any residual subversive threats to the Government of Haiti. A capability for swift, coordinated and overwhelming action anywhere in the country is therefore a necessity. In this regard, we note the indications given in the Secretary-General's report that the military component of UNMIH will include a quick-reaction force. We trust that it will be of a strength and capacity adequate to satisfy this vital security need.

Many crucial steps remain to be taken to achieve the political, economic, social and institutional reconstruction of Haiti and to provide for the Haitian people a peaceful and stable future based on democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law and on economic and social justice. CARICOM member States and Suriname are committed to playing a constructive role, to the extent of their means, in this critical part of the process.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation is delighted that today we are able to consider the text of a draft resolution which the Friends of Haiti have put together on the situation in that country, the substance of which derives from the content of the Secretary-General's report of 17 January 1995. Nigeria is especially pleased that, thanks to the successful intervention of the Multinational Force (MNF), the situation in Haiti can now be described as secure and stable and, in the words of the Secretary-General,

> "people can move freely throughout the country; the constitutional Government exercises its authority over the whole country; and the Provisional Electoral Council is making preparations for legislative and local elections." *(S/1995/46, para. 78)*

Specially welcome is the observation that no serious danger to the existence of the Government can now be identified in Haiti.

In spite of these positive developments, experience in Haiti shows that there is a need for constant vigilance on the part of both the newly installed Government and the international community so that the gains so far achieved may not be jeopardized. Vigilance is all the more necessary in view of the fact that, as the Secretary-General himself underlines in his report, the crime rate in Haiti is still unacceptably high and breaches

of security occurring in various parts of the country negatively affect the social situation.

The current draft resolution before the Security Council is timely and, in our opinion, balanced and constructive. My delegation will therefore support it, and for at least three reasons.

First, the draft resolution, in authorizing the current phase of United Nations operations in Haiti, has secured the consent of the Government of Haiti, which is a vital prerequisite for all Chapter VI United Nations peace-keeping operations. It is our understanding that the up to 6,000 troops to be deployed in Haiti will use force only in exercise of the right of self-defence and in fulfilment of other objectives defined in the mandate.

Secondly, my delegation is in agreement with the six-month mandate period provided for the United Nations operation in the first instance, which accords with the Secretary-General's recommendation. However, as the draft resolution underlines in its penultimate preambular paragraph, it is important that the force level of UNMIH be kept under constant review. My delegation is, in fact, in favour of establishing a uniform standard for all peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council and, hence, would support the insertion of the substance of the language of the present text in all future resolutions which deal with mandate extensions and reviews of force levels of United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Finally, my delegation welcomes the import of operative paragraph 10 of the current draft resolution, concerning the international community's commitment to assisting and supporting the economic, social and constitutional development in Haiti in recognition of their importance for sustaining a secure and stable environment. This provision accords with what should be the international community's commitment to assisting all States in post-conflict peace-building situations. In our view, what is good for Haiti should be good for all other States newly emerging from years of conflict. I am talking in particular about Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda and, hopefully, Liberia.

In conclusion, the transition of the international peace-keeping operation in Haiti from the Multinational Force to the United Nations, as proposed in the present draft resolution, marks a very important phase in our collective efforts to help establish peace and security in Haiti. We commend the efforts of the States that have participated in the Multinational Force. We also commend the Organization of American States, as well as the International Civilian Mission in Haiti, for the work they have done in Haiti. We commend also the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to secure peace in Haiti. We trust that the transfer of responsibility from the Multinational Force to UNMIH will be hitch-free and that the remaining complex tasks of national rehabilitation and national reconstruction in Haiti will be carried out with equal vigour and equal commitment so that peace, stability and development may prosper and be sustained in that country.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti (S/1995/46). The report is, as usual, both detailed and informative. We are grateful that the situation in Haiti is, on the whole, reported to be slowly returning to normality and that the people of Haiti now enjoy some basic, fundamental human rights.

We are, however, concerned about the reported extra-judicial killings, extortions, intimidation of members and officers of the popular organizations, and other criminal activities which continue to pose a threat to peace and stability in Haiti. We agree with the Secretary-General that these acts of violence need to be brought under control before they get out of hand. These criminal activities are especially worrying against the backdrop of the recent history of Haiti. Their connection to former paramilitary networks, however remote, does not augur well for the stabilization of the country and the reconciliation of its people.

Anything that reminds Haitians of a possible return to the recent past has to be eliminated, and in this regard we are pleased with the determination of the Multinational Force to search for arms caches and disarm the criminal gangs which roam the countryside. The people of Haiti need to be assured that there will be no return to murderous rule.

We wish the judicial system in Haiti were different from what it is reported to be, and we commend the good work that the Multinational Force is doing in the field of justice in Haiti. There is definitely a need to improve the judicial system so that justice can be dispensed with ease and the convicts punished for their crimes. We fully understand the frustration of the people of Haiti regarding the failure of the judicial system, but we wish to implore them not to attempt to take the law into their own hands

while the administration of justice in the country is being reorganized.

We acknowledge the illustrious work the United Nations, its programmes, agencies, funds and offices, are doing for the people of Haiti. Their presence in the country, along with that of the Multinational Force and the non-governmental organizations, is certainly a source of hope where there was despair.

We are encouraged by and appreciate the operational creativity displayed by the commanders of the Multinational Force in establishing the Interim Public Security Force because the situation on the ground so dictated. They did not wait for the second phase of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to establish a police force as envisaged in resolution 867 (1993) because the unexpected collapse of the armed forces of Haiti left the country without a security force. This supports the view that the United Nations should always attempt to establish, directly or indirectly, a presence in a conflict situation as early as possible, because rare opportunities may be missed where such a presence does not exist.

We fully support the provisions of the current draft resolution relating to the progressive deployment of UNMIH until it reaches full strength by 31 March 1995. We trust the transition from the Multinational Force to UNMIH will be smooth, given the administrative, logistical and organizational planning which went into it. We are especially happy that the Council has accepted the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the civilian police component of UNMIH should be increased from 567 to 900 persons. The increased UNMIH civilian police will help with the rapid establishment of a Haitian national police force.

We support the extension of the mandate of UNMIH to 31 July 1995. We hope the United Nations will help in post-conflict peace-building when the mandate of UNMIH ultimately comes to an end, to ensure that the people of Haiti consolidate their newly won democratic rights and liberties, as well as helping to strengthen the implementation of economic and social policies and programmes which are the gateway to future peace and stability in Haiti.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for the submission, pursuant to Security Council resolution 940 (1994), of his report dated 17 January 1995 on the situation in Haiti.

The events that have taken place in Haiti were of great concern to the Government of Honduras, since the military coup that overthrew the legitimately elected President of that country set a serious precedent detrimental to democracy in the Caribbean and Central American region in particular, and in the Latin American region in general; and because, furthermore, the crisis deepened as the military regime refused to relinquish power, flouting all efforts by the international community to restore order and democracy in Haiti. Non-compliance by the de facto Government with the Governors Island Agreements and the New York Pact, as well as its flagrant defiance of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) were having a negative impact on the credibility of those organizations and the confidence placed in them, thereby reinforcing an impression of regional instability.

The case of Haiti proved to be an exception in all its forms. In our view, while the crisis in that country was of an internal nature and did not constitute a threat to international peace and security, at the same time the crisis had serious political and legal implications for democracy.

Serious violations of human rights and the mass exodus of a considerable portion of the Haitian population for political or economic reasons called for prompt and resolute action on the part of the international community, the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Honduras, following its humanitarian tradition, and faced with the serious situation resulting from the flight of hundreds of persons from Haiti in the quest for safety in third countries, on two occasions welcomed Haitian nationals onto its soil as refugees.

The measures adopted by the United Nations in cooperation with the OAS offered during their first stage a viable opportunity for resolving the Haitian crisis. Nevertheless, it was only by means of concrete action on the part of this Council and the international community that it was possible to reverse the situation and to offer Haiti an opportunity for democracy to be realized in that country, and to become the engine of its future economic and social development.

My Government is of the view that force should be used as a last resort in maintaining international peace and security. It also believes that this type of decision should be adopted by the Security Council in any event

with the support of all its members, that is to say, in a collegial manner. The concept of a multinational force under the leadership and control of one country should not be regarded as an alternative to the mechanisms that are established in the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, especially at this time, when we have very developed concepts and instruments, such as preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peace-keeping.

Similarly, we recognize the importance of joint activities undertaken by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the Multinational Force currently deployed in Haiti, in particular the commitment of the United Nations Secretariat to work together with the OAS in assisting Haiti in the fields of national reconciliation, political stability and social and economic reconstruction.

Moreover, my delegation welcomes the statement by the Multinational Force Command and the recommendation made by the States participating in that Force in which they affirm, respectively, that a stable and secure environment exists in Haiti. This enables the Council to determine that it is appropriate for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to begin to assume its full functions.

The Secretary-General also refers to the importance of the achievements of the advance team which is responsible for coordinating the transition from the Multinational Force to UNMIH and which is planning the transfer functions on the ground. Our delegation recognizes the need to increase the size of the technical team of experts on administration and logistics that is to cooperate with the advance team.

As to consultations with Governments with a view to their contributing to the military and civilian aspects of UNMIH, my delegation wishes to report that Honduras will contribute a contingent of 120 military personnel and two transport units, and that the necessary contacts have been made with the Secretariat to expedite deployment, which our information indicates should be completed early in March this year.

The Secretary-General notes in his report that resolution 940 (1994) mandates UNMIH to assist the Haitian authorities in establishing an environment conducive to the organization of free and fair elections. We hope that the Secretariat has begun the relevant consultations with the Organization of American States (OAS) to work on these tasks in a coordinated way and that it will be ready to assist as soon as necessary.

My delegation acknowledges the efforts of the multinational force to deploy in remote areas of Haiti, and its activities to maintain calm in the country. We stress the importance of training an interim security or police force made up of Haitians in order to guarantee a secure and stable climate before the transitional period. It is important to note that, while the number of students and graduates has increased considerably, the interim force must be expanded considerably and training courses must be intensified so that the force is commensurate with the size of the country and its population, and, above all, so that it measures up to the delicate task before it.

We therefore unreservedly support the draft resolution before the Council, extending the mandate of UNMIH for a further period of six months and authorizing the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

In our view, Haiti could soon provide the third example — after Central America and Mozambique — of the Organization's intervening through a peace-keeping operation under Council resolutions to make progress from conflict to peace and from peace to a stable and lasting democracy. But the current efforts of the international community at large, and of the Security Council in particular, to maintain democracy and the rule of law in Haiti can have no long-term success if the grave socio-economic situation there persists. In his report, the Secretary-General highlights the generous pledges made to help Haiti solve its serious economic problems. Honduras fully shares his concerns in this regard.

Millions of Haitians have placed their hopes in this exercise. The United Nations must not let them down. My country is committed to this cause, and will contribute to it within its modest means.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): My delegation has been following closely the activities of the Multinational Force in Haiti, and is delighted both with the substantial progress that has been attained and with the way in which it has been attained — that is, largely non-violently. Indeed, it is hard to recall many other changes of a political order as radical as the one that has occurred in Haiti where the level of violence in resolving the crisis would have been as low, especially in view of the high level of violence that prevailed while the crisis itself

lasted. We congratulate the Multinational Force (MNF) and the people of Haiti on this remarkable accomplishment.

We note with great satisfaction that the situation with respect to the observance of human rights and the security situation in the country has improved immensely over the past few months. However, a lot remains to be done. The previous regime appears to have been so corrupt that purging the security and judicial apparatus, to name just two examples, of unwelcome elements has led to their almost total collapse. The task of the new Government is thus to build them up from scratch, a task even more arduous than just revamping them.

At the same time, all dangers to the country's fledgling democracy have not disappeared. We feel that a truly terrifying quantity of arms is circulating or is cached in the country, and we are uncertain about the paramilitary elements that seem to be hibernating for the moment, perhaps awaiting a more propitious time to show signs of life again. Efforts to disarm them may not have been assiduous enough so far.

These are some of the reasons why we understand the need for a massive infusion of United Nations personnel to take over from the MNF. This step meets with our full approval. Resolution 940 (1994) anticipates that the task of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will be accomplished no later than February 1996; we hope that this will be long enough for it to complete its job.

President Aristide has attained some important political successes, especially in having consolidated his Cabinet. We are encouraged by the definite steps that have been taken towards holding parliamentary elections, and we encourage Haiti's authorities to hold them at the earliest convenient time. We have every expectation that once they take place the United Nations will certify them as having been free and fair.

By successfully completing the task it was authorized to undertake by paragraph 4 of resolution 940 (1994), the multinational force has demonstrated the usefulness, in some circumstances, of the Security Council's entrusting groups of States with enforcement action. We see this as an exceptional measure, to be used when all else fails. But, following the non-implementation of the Governors Island Agreement, we saw that in Haiti all else had indeed failed. In following the progress of the MNF, the Security Council benefited from frequent, detailed and on-the-record reports provided on behalf of the MNF by the United States delegation. We are grateful for this reporting effort. We salute and thank all members of the MNF and wish equal success to the new UNMIH force.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: The delegation of Rwanda wishes to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his fine report on the situation in Haiti.

Having read the various reports and recommendations, we are very pleased to learn that a secure and stable climate prevails in that Republic, the victim of so many years of civilian and military dictatorship.

With the return to power of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, we rejoice that a new era of peace, tolerance and democracy has emerged from the turmoil of Haitian history to reward the efforts of the Haitian people and the international community in their quest for lasting peace in that country.

The Rwandan delegation welcomes with great satisfaction the secure and stable climate that now exists in Haiti, for which we can in large measure thank the Multinational Force. Nevertheless, we have to deplore certain temporary difficulties, which somewhat tarnish the bright picture of the future.

At a time when the international community is concerned to uphold Haiti in its efforts to consolidate its democratic underpinnings, the Rwandan delegation expresses the hope that socio-economic development in that country will be the keystone of all the achievements which they are planning for the short and medium term.

We need hardly dwell at length on peace, democracy and development, the three pillars of economic prosperity for any country. The Republic of Haiti was among the first republics in the northern hemisphere. Unfortunately, now that the others have become developed, they not merely have forgotten to hold out their hands to Haiti, but are actually exploiting it. That is why what this Organization now calls "preventive diplomacy" should, for Haiti as for Rwanda, be a diplomacy that takes the form of multifaceted assistance from the international community to promote economic growth, which is the very basis of peace and lasting democracy. We hope that Haiti's major neighbours in the Organization of American States will continuously and increasingly help to relaunch the Haitian economy.

In view of all I have said and in view of the solidarity of countries that have suffered so much from injustice, the Rwandan delegation is very pleased to be a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on Haiti and will vote in favour of it.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: Recently there has been some improvement in the situation in Haiti. Life has gradually returned to normal; Government departments have begun to operate; and preparations for the elections are under way. These developments are inseparable from the efforts of the international community and of the Security Council, and we welcome them. At the same time, we have noted that, as the Secretary-General observes in his report, crime remains rampant in Haiti today; yet it is unlikely that a police force will be established very soon. Thus, there exists a security vacuum. This situation cannot but cause grave concern.

All along, China has supported the Haitian people in their efforts to achieve peace, stability and national reconstruction, which, we believe, will help maintain peace and stability in the region. We have consistently stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes and opposed the use or threat of use of force in international relations. Therefore, we had reservations on Security Council resolution 940 (1994). In order to support the Haitian peace process, however, we maintained a serious and responsible approach throughout the consideration of the Haitian question in the Security Council, and we properly handled related questions in cooperation with the parties concerned.

Considering the possible changes in Haiti's situation, and particularly the security situation following the completion of the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) by the end of March, we deem it necessary that the Security Council should at that time reconsider such questions as the mandate and size of UNMIH, just as it reconsidered these questions for the peace-keeping operations in Georgia and Tajikistan and for some of the operations in Africa.

We had therefore proposed a number of amendments in a constructive manner and had hoped that agreement could be reached in a spirit of consultation and cooperation. Regrettably, however, our reasonable proposal was not accepted. We must therefore abstain on the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Fedotov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Russia has been closely following the process of a settlement in Haiti. We support the efforts of the legally elected President, Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and of the Government of Haiti to restore normalcy, constitutional legality and democratic institutions in that country. We note that as a result of the operations of the Multinational Force in Haiti considerable success has now been achieved in normalizing the situation and in creating a secure and stable climate, in keeping with the provisions of resolution 940 (1994). As has been confirmed by international observers there and observers from human rights organizations, an end has now been put to political violence; gross violations of human rights have virtually ceased; and the rate of common crime has dropped somewhat. The situation in Haiti no longer poses a threat to peace and security.

Yet it is clearly premature to assert that this trend is irreversible. Obviously, creating stability, particularly long-term stability, is related first and foremost to certain social and economic factors and will require considerable assistance from the international community to the people of Haiti.

Both with respect to Haiti and in a broader context, our approach to the matter of United Nations peace-keeping operations was recently set out during the Council's discussion of the Secretary-General's Supplement to the Agenda for Peace. Specifically, we consider that there must be a substantive discussion of what the real requirements for United Nations peace-keeping activities are and of what resources are needed to meet those requirements. Every peace-keeping operation is unique; the questions involved must be addressed in the light of each specific situation. But we believe that a single, clear-cut set of criteria should be fashioned for launching and conducting such operations. This would avoid double standards in the approach of the United Nations and the division of conflicts into "priority" and "secondary" conflicts.

We note that in the course of our work on the draft resolution before the Council the sponsors accommodated many of the ideas put forward by the Russian delegation. While we continue to have certain concerns, to which we referred during previous discussions, we consider that it is possible to give the green light to the transition to the United Nations phase of the operation. Here we are guided by the essential desirability of strengthening and expanding positive collaboration and cooperation within the Security Council. We would expect our Council partners to be guided by the same principles for the sake of strengthening stability throughout the world.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now put draft resolution S/1995/85 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention.

The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 975 (1995).

I shall now call upon members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Today marks a planned and important point of transition in Haiti's journey from tyranny to democracy. The Multinational Force authorized by the Council last July has fulfilled its mission. Planning for the transfer of responsibility to a United Nations force is well under way. Today's vote verifies that the transition will occur by the end of March.

The men and women of the Multinational Force deserve our recognition and gratitude. They have performed difficult tasks with consummate skill. To the family of Sergeant First Class Gregory Dale Cardott, we acknowledge a special debt. Our hearts and prayers are with them.

My Government is pleased to have led the Multinational Force, and we thank warmly the other nations that have contributed to it. We note with satisfaction the strong bond that has developed between the forces and the Haitian people. We thank also the members of this Council, the Friends of Haiti and the Secretary-General and his staff for their commitment to respond dynamically and creatively to the Haitian crisis. Together, we have served well the United Nations Charter's pledge to pursue

> "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Over the past four months, because of our efforts, those of the Organization of American States, the wisdom of Haiti's leaders and the resilience of the Haitian people, welcome changes have been achieved. Once-dormant markets are now vibrant with life. Neighbourhoods once shadowed by terror echo now with laughter and renewed hope. Mothers no longer fear that their sons will be shot or their daughters raped by the keepers of official order. Police stations are used now for training, not torture. Boats are built for fishing, not flight. And political activity has resumed. The threads of economic life have been identified and now must be rewoven.

Last July, the Security Council responded to the unique circumstances in Haiti with a strategy in two parts. In the first phase, the Multinational Force was to create a secure and stable environment within which democratic institutions could begin to function. The Multinational Force has achieved that purpose. The illegal leaders departed peacefully. President Aristide and the legitimately elected Government have returned to power. More than 21,000 weapons have been purchased or seized. A new police force is being recruited, and the Haitian army is being reduced and reformed.

We are approaching now the second phase. Today, we have authorized the Secretary-General to recruit and deploy up to 6,000 military personnel and 900 civilian police to continue the tasks thus far so well advanced. The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will work with Haiti's Government and other donors to build a new civilian police force. It will assist the Government of Haiti in assuring public order. It will help establish an environment conducive to free and fair elections, and it will complete its assigned tasks by February 1996.

My Government has worked hard with the Multinational Force and the Secretariat staff to ensure a seamless transfer of responsibility — a transition without marked change. More than half of the military personnel and about one third of the civilians in UNMIH will be veterans of the Multinational Force. Overall, there will be no dramatic alteration in mission size, troop capabilities or quality of command. The United Nations troops will have the right to use force to defend

themselves, including the right to oppose forcible attempts to impede the discharge of their functions.

As the Secretary-General noted in his most recent report to the Council,

> "there is a feeling of liberty and a sense of security [in Haiti] which did not exist previously." (*S/1995/46, para. 13*)

The organized and semi-organized bands of thugs operating under official protection have been disbanded. But Haiti is by no means a tranquil land. The greedy, the embittered and the desperate retain the capacity for violence. Criminal forces may see this transition and the upcoming election campaign as an opportunity for bolder action. But let no one doubt: if this United Nations force is pushed, it has the leadership, the mandate, the fire-power and the will to push back.

The economic reconstruction of Haiti is not part of the United Nations peace-keeping mission, but efforts to that end are complementary. My Government joins with the Secretary-General in calling upon nations, development agencies, the United Nations system and regional and non-governmental organizations to work together with the Haitian Government to implement the emergency economic recovery programme. The door to private investment must be open. There is no better answer to inequality, corruption and strife than freedom, jobs, basic education and food on the table.

As the resolution we have approved today recognizes, the future of Haiti rests, as it must, in Haitian hands. Democratic institutions cannot be imposed upon a society; they must be nurtured from within. The road ahead remains an uphill road, but the international community can be satisfied that those with the commitment to build a free Haiti now have that opportunity. By allowing that chance, this Council has kept faith with the people of Haiti, with the cause of freedom and with the Charter of this great institution.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the resolution, which authorizes the Secretary-General to make arrangements for the transfer of the duties of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

When it adopted resolution 940 (1994), the Council decided that the objective was to hand over to the United Nations as quickly as possible — that is, as soon as a secure and stable environment had been established and the United Nations was in a position to take over it. There is therefore every reason to be pleased that the conditions have been met to allow the second phase of the operation to begin on 31 March. This attests to the progress that has been made since the deployment of the Multinational Force four months ago. In this connection, my delegation again pays tribute to the commanders and other members of the Force.

The ending of political violence, once one of Haiti's scourges, is an unquestionable success, as are the waning of fear and the resumption of political debate. The Government is performing its duties, and President Aristide, who advocates national reconciliation, is keeping his word. Furthermore, his message is being heeded. I also note that the timetable envisaged when the operation was launched has been met. That is a positive point.

The holding of legislative elections is a decisive element in the return of democracy. This ballot should be held as soon as it reasonably can be. I hope that all the necessary arrangements will be made for it to be held in complete security and with complete impartiality. The United Nations and the Haitians must take the necessary measures in that regard.

It is true that there remain reasons for concern, particularly the resurgence of common crime and the implication in the violence of former paramilitary networks. This must be stopped if an authentic democratic society is to be built. Great attention should be focused on the reintegration and professional training of demobilized troops. The establishment of an honest and efficient police force is also of fundamental importance. My delegation welcomes the success of the training programmes that have been initiated, in which France is participating.

Lastly, I wish to emphasize the importance of economic development and the rebuilding of institutions, particularly the judiciary, in order to consolidate democracy in Haiti. We welcome what the Ambassador of Haiti said on this subject. In this connection, I wish to inform the Council that a meeting of the donor advisory group was held today, in Paris. It will be followed by a meeting to coordinate the activities of those providing funds to promote justice in Haiti. France has also resumed its bilateral cooperation on a large scale. We

hope — in fact, we are certain — that everyone's efforts will set Haiti on the right path.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany) *(interpretation from French)*: Germany considers that the time has come for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to fulfil all of its functions. That is why we voted in favour of today's Security Council resolution on Haiti.

On this occasion, my Government would like to express its gratitude to the States participating in the Multinational Force, which, so far has opened the way for the return of the elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, for the restoration of the legitimate Government of Haiti and for the re-establishment of a stable and secure environment in that country. The Multinational Force and the United Nations Mission in Haiti must together provide the guarantee that the critical transitional phase, which coincides with the holding of legislative elections, will also be a success.

We have already witnessed a perceptible improvement in the situation in Haiti. Haitians now enjoy fundamental rights — in particular, the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and association — to a greater extent than ever before. It is essential to maintain a stable and secure environment in Haiti in order to further consolidate its democratic structures, and we hope that the soon-to-be-held legislative elections will strengthen the progress already achieved.

While there is now no danger hovering over the Haitian Government, there are none the less elements of concern that we must, unfortunately, take into account: the numerous criminal acts often perpetrated by members of the old regime; the increasing number of uncontrolled weapons; the insufficiency and continued ineffectiveness of the law-and-order forces; and the lack of judicial authorities to initiate penal proceedings. The Haitian Government, with the assistance of the United Nations Mission in Haiti and the international community, must urgently focus all its attention on these concerns.

In the final analysis, we must realize that the efforts to stabilize Haiti will depend in very large part on its socio-economic development, and we see some encouraging signs in this regard. None the less, a great deal remains to be done, and we are counting on the Government of Haiti to address these matters vigorously. The international community, the United Nations system and the Member States must make a large contribution to that effort in order for the Haitian Government to succeed. Hence, my Government stands ready to participate in the economic reconstruction of Haiti.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): The resolution just adopted on Haiti is another building-block in the beginning of a new phase of political, social and economic development in that country. The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will be deployed in accordance with the timetable and the procedures suggested by the Secretary-General, and, consequently, the mandate of the Multinational Force will terminate by 31 March. This will be the next decisive step on the road to recovery from the crisis that exploded when military leaders illegally seized power in Port-au-Prince.

The first step was the intervention of the Multinational Force, which liberated the Haitian people from the military regime and made possible the return of their constitutional leader, President Aristide. The fact that the dictators were forced to leave the country without armed resistance or bloodshed was also an undeniable accomplishment for all those who made this outcome possible.

Democracy is back in Haiti; security has increased considerably; the human rights situation has improved; and preparations are already under way for the legislative elections to be held, hopefully, before summer. But, as the Secretary-General's report points out, these achievements cannot be considered irreversible. It appears that a large number of weapons continue to plague the country. This is why, quite rightly, operative paragraph 11 of the resolution urges the Government of Haiti to establish without delay an effective police force and to improve the functioning of its judicial system.

Thus, the priority is the establishment of the new police force. Although not explicitly mentioned in the resolution, it seems to us, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, that a second priority is that of restructuring the armed forces, which were at the root of the problems. Another important factor will be the election of the new Parliament, to be followed in February of next year by the presidential elections. Last but not least, a strong, sincere commitment from the international community is needed to assist and support institutional, social and economic development, which, in the end, remains the prerequisite to the promotion and consolidation of peace. In this regard, I would like to ask the Ambassador of Haiti, Mr. Fritz Longchamp, to assure his Government and his countrymen that, as always, they can rely on my country, Italy.

If all goes well, Haiti will soon become another United Nations success story. Our sincere appreciation and gratitude go to all those who have made and will make possible this welcome turn of events.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The adoption of today's resolution marks another important step towards the re-establishment in Haiti of a fully functioning democracy. It demonstrates the continuing commitment of the Security Council to international peace and security and the further consolidation of the great improvements in Haiti since the departure of the military regime.

My Government agrees with the Secretary-General and the other contributors to the Multinational Force that the conditions in Haiti now permit a smooth and early transition to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). We commend the efforts of the Multinational Force and of all the countries contributing to it, which have created the environment necessary for the full deployment of UNMIH. As the resolution makes clear, it will be important for the Secretary-General to keep UNMIH force levels under constant review and to recommend to the Council adjustments as and when the situation in Haiti permits.

The resolution just adopted acknowledges that the threat formerly posed to peace and security in the region has now been removed. We congratulate President Aristide on his role in helping to make this possible. His efforts to promote peace and reconciliation have obviously been a most important factor in the success of the multinational operation. It is important that the people of Haiti give the highest priority to the process of reconciliation and the maintenance of stability. Ultimately it is the Haitians themselves who have responsibility for the reconstruction of their country. We will continue to support them, not least in the approach to the forthcoming legislative elections. We look forward to an early start to a free and fair election campaign, monitored by the United Nations.

It is too early to predict the final and complete success of the United Nations involvement in Haiti, but the action taken so far by this Council and by the Multinational Force has given us strong grounds for optimism. My Government believes that the resolution we have just adopted will bring success a significant step closer.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Argentine Republic.

Argentina has repeatedly stated its commitment to a solution of the Haitian crisis since the very beginning of United Nations involvement; hence our participation, with vessels of the Argentine Navy, in the embargo imposed by this body, in the group monitoring the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and in the Multinational Force, as well as support for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

We have also attached primary importance to trying to solve the crisis, within the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS) and in this Organization — from the careful procedures concerning humanitarian exceptions to the embargo, dealt with in the Pan American World Health Organization (WHO) and the former sanctions Committee of this Council, to increases in the indicative planning figures of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

We are convinced that the political efforts made by the Security Council should be accompanied by economic and social measures in support of the efforts of the Government of Haiti. In the context of post-conflict peace-building, we should continue to promote every effort and initiative to serve and assist the people and Government of Haiti.

With respect to the particular circumstances that bring us together today, my country, as one of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General on Haiti, participated in the drafting of the text that we have just adopted. Our co-sponsorship of the resolution indicates the extent of our commitment to, and involvement with, Haiti and our agreement with the transfer of functions from the Multinational Force to the United Nations Mission, as well as with the level of military and civilian personnel recommended by the Secretary-General.

The broad sponsorship in the Council demonstrates the interest in the positive developments in the Haitian situation. We wish to express our satisfaction over the exemplary performance of the Multinational Force, whose personnel have carried out the mandate of the international community within the framework of the United Nations Charter, a mandate given in resolution 940 (1994), in a responsible manner and in keeping with the circumstances they had to confront.

Now more than ever before, the normalization of Haiti requires the efforts of the United Nations. In the Council, as well as on all other fronts, we shall continue

our work and reiterate our commitment to anything intended to improve the situation of the people of Haiti.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3497

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3497th Meeting
Tuesday, 31 January 1995, 5.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Zhang Yan
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

95-85104 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/76, which contains the text of a letter dated 25 January 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Burundi to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, which has been following closely developments in Burundi, has learned with concern that the situation in the country has deteriorated considerably over the last few days.

"In this context, the Security Council deeply deplores the pronouncements made by the leadership of one political party which calls for the withdrawal of the Prime Minister and the overthrow of his Government by all means available.

"The Security Council denounces such attempts to threaten by way of intimidation the coalition Government which was established in line with the Convention of Government of 10 September 1994. It further condemns the extremist groups that continue to undermine the national reconciliation process.

"The Security Council calls upon all parties and others concerned, in particular the national security forces, to refrain from committing acts of violence and to give support to the Government institutions established in line with the above-mentioned Convention.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it fully informed of developments in Burundi. The Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/5.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3498

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3498th Meeting
Tuesday, 7 February 1995, 1.25 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Legwaila	(Botswana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martinez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Menzione
	Nigeria	Mr. Gwary
	Oman	Mr. Al-Hassan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Evans
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

95-85110 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.25 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of February, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Emilio J. Cárdenas, Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of January 1995. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Cárdenas for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1995/56, letter dated 18 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1995/82 and S/1995/93, letters dated 25 and 31 January 1995, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reiterates its support for the efforts to bring about a political settlement in the Republic of Croatia which ensures full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and which guarantees the security and rights of all communities living in a particular area irrespective of whether they constitute in this area the majority or a minority.

"The Security Council strongly supports the recent efforts of representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the European Union, the Russian Federation and the United States of America aimed at achieving a political settlement in the Republic of Croatia. The Security Council calls upon the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the United Nations Protected Areas to enter urgently and without preconditions into negotiations on such a settlement, benefiting from proposals now made to them as part of these efforts. It calls upon all other relevant parties to support this process.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the search for an overall negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States there within their internationally recognized borders and stresses the importance it attaches to the mutual recognition thereof.

"The Security Council reaffirms its view that UNPROFOR's continued and effective presence in the Republic of Croatia is of vital importance for regional peace and security and expresses its desire that discussions over the weeks ahead will lead the Government of the Republic of Croatia to re-examine its position taken on 12 January 1995 in relation to the continuing role of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Croatia."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/6.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3499

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3499th Meeting
Wednesday, 8 February 1995, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Merafhe	(Botswana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Sersale di Cerisano
	China	Mr. He Yafei
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1995/97 and Add.1)

95-85125 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1995/97 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Guinea-Bissau, India, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Valle (Brazil), Mr. Toure (Guinea-Bissau), Mr. Sreenivasan (India), Mr. Muthaura (Kenya), Mr. Qhobela (Lesotho), Mr. Bwanali (Malawi), Mr. Afonso (Mozambique), Mr. Gurirab (Namibia), Mr. Biegman (Netherlands), Mr. Biørn Lian (Norway), Mr. Catarino (Portugal), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Nzo (South Africa), Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain), Mr. Osvald (Sweden), Mr. Fayala (Tunisia), Mr Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'zaji (Zaire), Mr. Mushota (Zambia) and Mr. Mumbengegwi (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), documents S/1995/97 and Addendum 1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/117, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents:

S/1994/1441 and S/1994/1451, letters dated 9 and 28 December 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, concerning the Lusaka Protocol;

S/1995/51, letter dated 17 January 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and

S/1995/94, letter dated 30 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a message dated 24 January 1995 from the President of the Republic of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the Minister for External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venâncio de Moura. On behalf of the Security Council, I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. de Moura (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola and on my own behalf, on your assumption for February of the presidency of this important United Nations body, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security.

Let me also congratulate His Excellency Ambassador Emilio Cárdenas, the outgoing President, on the way in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

Our warm congratulations go also to the newly elected members of the Security Council, to which I wish the best of success in their work in solving the numerous problems that the international community is facing.

The presence in this Chamber of a ministerial delegation from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of several African countries, heartens us and further shows us that African countries, whether independently or through their continental organization the OAU, are deeply committed to the search for solutions to the extremely serious problems afflicting the African continent. We hail the presence of the Foreign Ministers here today and thank them for their gesture of solidarity with the Government and the people of Angola, who aspire to peace and understanding.

Of late, Angola has been discussed extensively in this important United Nations body because of the devastating war that has lasted for several years, with respect to the resolution of which the Security Council continues to make an invaluable contribution.

At the last meeting of the Council devoted to the situation in Angola, we described to members the efforts that the Angolan Government and the international community are making towards a negotiated solution of the post-election crisis in Angola. Today, the situation in Angola has evolved in a positive way, and there are prospects for a lasting peace for the Angolan people. Over two months have elapsed since the formal signing of the Lusaka Protocol. Notwithstanding the understandably slow pace of the process due to its complexity, we can state our certainty that the implementation of the phases provided for in the Lusaka Protocol is, from our point of view, irreversible. This leads us to believe that, this time, peace has come to stay.

Therefore, it is a pleasure for me to announce before this forum that the current military situation on the ground in Angola is calm. The cease-fire that entered into force on 22 November 1994 is being observed without any major incidents. The minor incidents that have occurred are not unusual in a sensitive process such as ours and, therefore, are far from posing a threat to the success of the peace process and cannot be used as a pretext for hindering or delaying the completion of the steps set forth in the Lusaka Protocol. The Joint Commission created under the Lusaka Protocol is operating normally under the guidance of its tireless Chairman, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, who has made every effort to promote the full implementation of the provisions of the Protocol.

As members know, the invitation addressed by His Excellency President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the leader of Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Mr. Jonas Savimbi, for a meeting within Angolan territory and the acceptance of that invitation constitute another positive step towards the creation of a climate of confidence for the Angolan people and the international community, which will help strengthen peace and national reconciliation.

I stress that, with the letter the President sent to Mr. Savimbi and Mr. Savimbi's recent response in which he gave his agreement to the meeting — with proper preparation — and took due account of his responsibility for the meeting's taking place, the meeting could well take place shortly.

The meetings of the military chiefs of staff of the Government and of UNITA, held at Chipipa, Huambo province, and at Waku-Kungo, Kuanza-Sul province, constituted another important step towards building trust between the two military forces, which in the near future will form a single army under the command of a single commander-in-chief. A practical result of these meetings was the acceleration of the disengagement of Government and UNITA forces in the areas in which they were in direct contact, thus avoiding the risk of confrontation and allowing the establishment of verification, monitoring and control machinery, including a three-way communications system, the beginnings of free movement of people and goods, and the cessation of hostile propaganda between the Government and UNITA.

The report of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the evolution of the peace process in Angola since the adoption of resolution 966 (1994) clearly illustrates the situation as I have described it.

Taking into account the positive developments in the process, which to some extent allay the concerns of the Council as expressed in its resolution 966 (1994), my Government considers that the conditions have been created for the speedy constitution of a UNAVEM III with a specific mandate as set forth in the Lusaka Protocol, including technical, material and human resources sufficient for it to carry out its mandate. The creation and rapid deployment of UNAVEM III would be one of the best ways to avoid the mistakes that were made at the time of the implementation of the Bicesse accords, thus avoiding the derailment of the process.

We are aware of the high costs involved in the deployment of UNAVEM III, but, quoting His Excellency President José Eduardo dos Santos,

"these costs will be but a fraction of the cost of a war and dealing with its victims".

In this context, my Government wishes to emphasize the need for the quick deployment of UNAVEM III, because it alone — as we all know — will bear responsibility for the quartering, disarming and selection of UNITA troops that are to be integrated into the unified national army of Angola and for the demobilization of the excess military personnel that will be reintegrated into civilian life after receiving vocational training.

My Government wishes to reaffirm that the Lusaka Protocol signals the beginning of a decisive step towards the definitive solution to the Angolan internal conflict, by establishing a unique opportunity for eliminating completely the threat of renewed war. At the same time, it has paved the way for the normal functioning of the democratic institutions that emerged from the multi-party elections, which both the United Nations and the international community declared to be free and fair.

The Lusaka Protocol thus creates prospects for the exercise of democracy in Angola, a democracy free of armed parties and one in which the will of the people, expressed at the ballot box, will be respected. Under such conditions, the Government of the Republic of Angola will be in a position to concentrate all its efforts on the social and economic development and well-being of all the Angolan people. In order for us to fulfil this aspiration, it is important that the international community should continue to play its role in the consolidation of peace and stability in Angola and discourage all those who plan to act in a manner contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Angolan Government believes that this meeting of the Security Council, with the creation of UNAVEM III, will open up a new phase, because it will spare the people of Angola, who yearn for peace, more frustration. As to the responsibilities of the Government, I wish to reiterate our determination to make every effort to facilitate the tasks of UNAVEM III by ensuring safety and providing the necessary facilities for its work.

Though such an amount is unprecedented in the annals of the Council's peace-keeping activities, my Government estimates that the costs of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol may be as much as $1.26 billion. As we have previously stated, both here and at the bilateral level with some of those present here today, that amount would cover the following expenses: installation of UNAVEM III in Angola; installation and temporary cantonment of UNITA military personnel and their families; reconstruction of the main airfields, railways, ports, roads, bridges, streets and other infrastructure that will be used by the United Nations troops — here I wish to state that, according to studies carried out by my Government through its relevant Ministries, there are at this time 109 destroyed bridges, a number not equalled even in the colonial war; resettlement of displaced persons, of whom there are approximately 3.5 million in the country, victims of the war; demobilization of excess military personnel, both of UNITA and of the Government; social reintegration of demobilized personnel, including technical vocational training before reintegration into productive society; re-establishment of the State administration in areas previously under the control of UNITA forces, which, under the provisions of Security Council resolution 864 (1993), will have to pull out of those areas; reconstruction of the various kinds of infrastructure destroyed during the war; and Government administration and communications.

Towards the amount I have referred to, and in order to address the various points I have indicated, the Government will immediately contribute approximately $64.7 million in cash. This amount would be allotted as follows: $15.5 million outlaid from the Government budget for a residential compound; parking facilities; harbour space for vessels; harbour and airport warehouses, including offices; and fuel and fuel derivatives. This would include a 30 per cent discount on international prices for incoming goods, exemption from customs-clearance formalities, the granting of parcels of land and so on. The disbursement of these amounts by the Angolan Government will be facilitated if UNITA completely disengages itself from the mining areas it occupies in the province of Lunda, where it is illegally mining diamonds.

Although there is a general climate of peace as far as military activity is concerned and there is already free movement of people and goods, the social and humanitarian situation is still a matter of concern. The consequences of the war are clearly evident. Other tasks that we must carry out include reintegration of the excess UNITA troops to be demobilized, various forms of assistance to the millions of displaced persons and refugees who are returning to their places of origin, reconstruction of basic infrastructure and clearance of land-mines.

Since this is a far-reaching humanitarian operation that will include people from UNITA and other political parties within the framework of a true national reconciliation, the international community is urged to play an important role as part of this operation and not impose conditions of various kinds. Peace is within our grasp; it is close. Let us not focus on absurd or contradictory demands different from positions already taken by the Assembly or Council.

The mobilization of financial and humanitarian aid is therefore a *sine qua non* for us to overcome the challenges that we face under the present circumstances. In this context, therefore, I launch an appeal to the international community and to all governmental and non-governmental organizations, asking them to continue, even more vigorously, to lend their support, in all possible forms, to the Angolan Government, which truly wants a lasting peace for all Angolans so that conditions may be created for beneficial cooperation with all Member States with which the Government of Angola maintains relations.

I also wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Government and the people of Angola, to express our gratitude for the generous humanitarian assistance that we have so far received from various Governments, at the bilateral and multilateral levels, specialized agencies in the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations. Our special thanks go to those who have been directly involved in the distribution of humanitarian aid to the needy, very often at the risk of their own lives.

Before concluding, I reiterate the deep appreciation of my Government to my colleagues the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who, representing, firstly, the Organization of African Unity and, secondly, their respective Governments, travelled to New York to express their solidarity with the people of Angola at this time when it is striving for a well-deserved and lasting peace. I assure Their Excellencies that we will do honour to this gesture of solidarity by promising to do everything in our power to fulfil the commitments we entered into at Lusaka. I should like to reiterate once again the deep gratitude of the Government of the Republic of Angola for the tireless efforts they have made on behalf of peace and national reconciliation in Angola. I extend our gratitude also to all those countries that have already indicated their willingness to contribute men, *matériel* and other support to UNAVEM III. We hope that the adoption at this meeting of the resolution establishing UNAVEM III will be a step towards the definitive establishment of lasting peace in Angola.

(spoke in French)

Lastly, we should like to express our concern with regard to some paragraphs — specifically, paragraphs 6, 8 and 12 — in the draft resolution that is soon to be put to the Council for adoption. Indeed, this concern was the reason for our late arrival today. At the appropriate moment, we shall put forward specific proposals to improve the text. These will reflect a number of concerns that we had already submitted for the consideration of the President of our Republic, who called us this morning to convey his concern in respect of the paragraphs I mentioned just now.

The President: I thank the Minister of External Relations of Angola for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform members that I have received a letter dated 8 February 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations. The letter reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that during the meeting of the Security Council devoted to consideration of the situation in Angola, the Council extend an invitation, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, to His Excellency Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)."

This letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1995/123.

If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to His Excellency Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The next speaker is the Minister of External Affairs of Malawi, His Excellency Mr. E. C. I. Bwanali. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Bwanali (Malawi): Allow me, Sir, to start by congratulating your country on its assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. My delegation is particularly pleased to see you in the Chair, and we are confident that the deliberations of the Council will be ably and effectively guided and that fruitful results will be achieved. We wish the representative of

your country well as he carries out the many tasks that will come before him during his tenure.

My delegation also wishes to congratulate his predecessor in office for a marvellous job done during the month of January.

I have the honour to speak before the Security Council as leader of a delegation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Council of Ministers, made up of Foreign Ministers from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia and representatives of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. In doing so, I should like to declare our full support for the position of the Angolan Government, as so clearly set out by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, on the subject now being considered by the Council. However, each of the Ministers in my delegation will be free to address the Security Council individually on the issue under discussion. I wish also to acknowledge the presence in our delegation of the representative of the current Chairman of the OAU, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, who is also a member of our delegation.

We have carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General to the Council, which provides a very clear, comprehensive and detailed account of the developments that have taken place since the initialling of the Lusaka Protocol on 31 October 1994. We are particularly encouraged by the Secretary-General's assessment and conclusions indicating that, despite some infringements, the cease-fire provided for in the peace agreement signed on 20 November 1994 is generally being observed by all parties and that significant progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Angolan peace processes.

We concur with the Secretary-General's assessment. However, it is the view of the OAU Council of Ministers that these achievements need buttressing if the fragile peace process in Angola is to be sustained. It is in this context that my delegation has been mandated to come and convey to the Security Council Africa's grave concern that, unless urgent and appropriate measures are taken by the international community, particularly the United Nations, to sustain the current momentum, the entire peace process in Angola could be seriously threatened.

There is an English saying, "once bitten, twice shy". And in the case of Angola, this saying, *vis-à-vis* international involvement, would seem *à propos*. Indeed, we can still recall how, nearly four years ago, when everything seemed to be going well and peace appeared to be holding, suddenly the guns came alive and, in a flash, Angola slid back into a war even more vicious than that previously experienced.

We can thus appreciate the concerns of those who urge caution against any increased international involvement until peace has been firmly established in Angola. However, we are convinced that the situation is different this time around and that the Angolan people are tired of war.

It is now 80 days exactly since the Lusaka Protocol was signed and 78 since the cease-fire came into effect. In that period, the Angolan people have demonstrated their earnest desire for peace, as confirmed by the generally agreed assessment that, despite minor infractions, the cease-fire is holding. Meanwhile, the two parties — the Government of Angola and UNITA — have continued their efforts to implement the other aspects of the Lusaka Protocol. For example, the military commanders have met several times in the context of the Joint Commission and, as the Foreign Minister of Angola informed us today, the UNITA leader, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, has now unconditionally agreed to meet the President of Angola, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos.

There is therefore a need for a clear demonstration of firm international support and solidarity for the people of Angola as they seek to build and consolidate the peace based on the Lusaka Protocol. It is for this reason that my delegation has come to urge the Council to facilitate the speedy establishment and deployment of the enlarged United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), one of the mechanisms provided for in the Lusaka Protocol. In this connection, we are encouraged by the apparent consensus amongst members of the Security Council on the need for the speedy establishment and deployment of UNAVEM III.

We have taken careful note of the concerns expressed in the light of past experiences, especially in respect of UNAVEM I, that we must "do it right this time". In this context, reference has been made to paragraph 32 of the Secretary-General's report. Whilst we concur fully with the need to do it right this time, it is our view that the speedy deployment of the mechanisms provided for in the Lusaka Protocol would serve as a confidence-builder and encourage the parties concerned to move forwards even further in implementing the "Acordos de Paz". It would also help to secure the prevailing cease-fire, without which the

fragile peace process in Angola could collapse, with dire consequences. It is our conviction, therefore, that the speedy establishment of UNAVEM III is the best way to ensure that, this time around, we can "do it right".

Before concluding, I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation and gratitude for the sympathetic understanding and cooperation we have received from all those with whom we have had the chance to hold consultations on the matter before this meeting. We especially appreciate the understanding with which our particular concerns in respect of the enabling draft resolution — which the Council will be considering later today — were received. We believe that this cooperation has facilitated the presentation to the Council of an enabling draft resolution which, whilst possessing some difficult elements here and there, generally takes account of the concerns of all the parties. It has been our concern that the enabling resolution should not have so many conditionalities that it becomes itself an impediment to the advancement of the peace process. We believe that the draft resolution before the Council today can be adopted by consensus and we hope that it will be so adopted.

Members of the Council are called upon to take this historic decision, one with enormous implications for the future of political developments in Angola. We believe that time and circumstances have presented the international community with a rare opportunity to help bring about permanent peace in Angola. It is in this respect that the OAU Council of Ministers decided to send a delegation to New York.

If this opportunity is allowed to slip away, posterity will judge us very harshly. We owe it to the present and future generations of Angolans to do right by them. It is now all in the hands of the Council.

The President: I thank the Minister of External Affairs of Malawi for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sreenivasan (India): We are pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council. It is fitting and proper that it is under Botswana's presidency that the Security Council will be approving the establishment of the enlarged United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). This decision will reflect the international community's continued concern for and commitment to peace and reconciliation in Angola. Despite discouraging set-backs in the past, the United Nations has kept up its patient and persistent engagement in Angola.

In Angola peace appears to be on the horizon. The people of Angola seek peace. The cease-fire is generally holding. There are prospects of a face-to-face meeting between the President of Angola and Mr. Savimbi.

At this critical time, when we are on the threshold of peace, it is important that the United Nations should give a decisive and early push towards a final settlement. This is the time to give a clear and unequivocal message to those elements that might still have some doubts or reservations about the future.

In his report, the Secretary-General has proposed the phased deployment of troops and other personnel. There should be adequate flexibility provided in this regard to ensure that the progressive achievement of the tasks of UNAVEM III is not delayed. We would also urge the Security Council to keep the termination date of the mission sufficiently flexible to ensure the fulfilment of the objectives of the mission.

We wish to use this opportunity to appeal to His Excellency Mr. Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi for an early meeting between them. It is our fervent hope that they will fulfil the expectations of the international community and the Angolan people and display the necessary political will to bring about political reconciliation and trust at all levels to ensure the establishment of a lasting peace and an end to all bloodshed in Angola.

India has participated in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Angola ever since their beginning in 1989. In the present phase we have already deployed 16 military observers. Twenty civilian observers will be joining them shortly. We have committed an infantry battalion and an engineering support company for UNAVEM III. All these units will come fully equipped, and are ready for deployment. This is a reflection of our earnest desire to help the international community to restore peace and normality in a country with which India has the friendliest of relations.

Besides this contribution of troops, India has an ongoing bilateral programme of economic and technical cooperation with Angola.

India's contribution to UNAVEM III in Angola is part of the long-term, consistent and principled support that my country has extended to the cause of peace and security on the African continent. India has been at the forefront of United Nations peace-keeping operations, starting with Congo and including Namibia, Mozambique, Somalia, Liberia and Rwanda. India has always been in the forefront of championing African causes of freedom, justice and economic and social development.

The underlying cause of the recent conflict in Angola and in other parts of Africa has to be attributed primarily to the cold war. Fortunately, the cold war is over now. Durable peace must now be established so that the underlying problem of inadequate development can be tackled as a top priority. This is also the surest way of ensuring the establishment of sustained peace and prosperity in Angola and elsewhere.

The President: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Biørn Lian (Norway): Allow me first, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of February and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Cárdenas, for the excellent work he accomplished. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to the ministerial delegation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), under the leadership of the Foreign Minister of Malawi, and to the Foreign Minister of Angola; we listened to their interventions with the closest attention.

In 1994 the grave humanitarian situation caused Angola, together with Rwanda, to be the largest recipient of Norwegian humanitarian aid. Angola's road to peace has been long and arduous. After numerous set-backs in the negotiations, Norway welcomed with satisfaction the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994 and the entry into force of the cease-fire. A significant step had been taken towards the restoration of lasting peace in Angola. We congratulate the people of Angola and join them in their wish to see an end to the human suffering and the tragic toll that the protracted war has inflicted. The Lusaka Protocol means that a decisive step has been taken towards the final resolution of the internal conflict in that war-torn country.

In this connection, my delegation commends most sincerely the excellent work accomplished by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Blondin Beye. Norway believes that a critical factor for the eventual success of the peace process in Angola is the creation of conditions that will make the implementation of the provisions of the Protocol possible. The establishment of the third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), as suggested in the report of the Secretary-General, will have a key function in assisting the Government of Angola and UNITA in coping with the remaining obstacles and thus in achieving the all-important goal of national reconciliation and the restoration of a durable peace in Angola.

Since the operation started, Norway has participated in UNAVEM with military observers, and I can announce today that my Government has determined that we should maintain our contribution within the framework of UNAVEM III at about the same level. We are pleased that the Security Council in its draft resolution has decided on a mandate period of one year, as suggested in the report. Implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is already behind the time set in the report, and a shorter period than one year would seem unrealistic to us.

However, much remains to be done within the framework of the Peace Accords and the relevant Security Council resolutions in order to give full effect to the peace settlement. We note with appreciation the Secretary-General's observations regarding the respect for the cease-fire shown by the Government and UNITA, their commitment to ensuring the safety and security of United Nations personnel and their commitment to the Lusaka process and to national reconciliation. We feel that further concrete confidence-building measures will be imperative for a successful peace process, and therefore urge the parties to the Protocol to continue to commit themselves fully and faithfully to implementing its provisions and to respect and maintain the cease-fire throughout the country.

As my Foreign Minister stated in his address to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session, Norway stands ready to support regional processes to encourage closer cooperation between African nations. In general, regional organizations should take on more responsibility for peace-keeping in the future. The presence today of the ministerial delegation of the OAU sends a positive signal that we note with great appreciation. It follows

from what I have said that we would welcome a substantial regional effort in UNAVEM III.

In a country like Angola, humanitarian action can serve as a dynamic force for peace. It can help create momentum towards restoring security and promoting reconciliation. The number of non-military tasks planned for UNAVEM III is indeed significant. We support the priorities set for the United Nations humanitarian programme: relief assistance, mine clearance, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, repatriation of refugees and resettlement of internally displaced persons.

The operation will be costly. I would like to emphasize the fundamental importance of a sound financial basis for UNAVEM III. It is incumbent on all Member countries to fully meet their responsibilities in this respect.

In a comprehensive peace-keeping operation like UNAVEM III, the issue of the coordination of the various elements and activities, be they of a military or a non-military character, is crucial. We welcome the plan to establish integrated teams to coordinate day-to-day functions and to ensure the most efficient use of available resources. As far as possible, longer term development assistance to Angola should also be designed and managed with a particular view to reinforcing the peace process.

As a country passing through a crucial stage in the process of building democracy, Angola needs the support and encouragement of the international community. Norway has played its part in trying to repair the severe damage to Angola's economic and social fabric. In 1994, Norway contributed $6.8 million in humanitarian assistance to Angola. Of these funds, more than $1.3 million was spent on mine clearance. Mine-clearance programmes in Angola will be high on our priority list in 1995 also. To date, $700,000 has been earmarked for a central mine-clearance school in Luanda. In 1994, most of the Norwegian humanitarian assistance was channelled through international and national organizations such as the World Food Programme, the Red Cross, Norwegian People's Aid, the United Nations Children's Fund and Church Action for Angola, as well as through the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

In addition, $2.2 million was given to Angola as long-term development assistance in 1994. We will continue our long-term support for the people of Angola; the same level of assistance is foreseen for 1995.

There is now a real chance that the Angolan peace process will be crowned with success. The international community is showing full solidarity with Angola through the decisions that are being taken today. But this solidarity can only support the efforts of the Government of Angola and UNITA, whose will to implement the peace accords and to engage in genuine reconciliation will remain decisive.

Let me therefore conclude by expressing the hope that Angola will continue the successful trend of Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique in establishing a peaceful and democratic society.

The President: I thank the representative of Norway for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zambia, His Excellency the Honourable Mr. Remmy K.K. Mushota. I welcome Mr. Mushota and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mushota (Zambia): On behalf of my delegation and of other delegations from the southern African region, let me extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. It is particularly gratifying to see you, a son of southern Africa, presiding over the Council's deliberations on Angola. We wish you well.

My delegation is most grateful to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to participate in this important meeting, which has been convened to consider the establishment of a third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III).

Since I am addressing this body following the historic signing on 20 November 1994 of the Lusaka Protocol on Angola, allow me to convey my Government's gratitude to the Secretary-General, to the Security Council and to the United Nations as a whole for all the efforts that culminated in the signing of the Angolan peace agreement.

In the same vein, permit me to congratulate Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola, who presided over the Lusaka talks with patience, total commitment and steadfastness. Our commendations go also to the troika of

official observers from Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America for their tireless efforts in ensuring that the Lusaka talks succeeded.

Above all, I wish to pay a deserved tribute to the Government of the Republic of Angola and to UNITA for the mature and statesmanlike manner in which they conducted themselves during the Lusaka talks and for their determination to reach a peace agreement.

The Lusaka Protocol was a product of painstaking efforts by the principal parties to the Angolan conflict and by a concerned international community. Indeed, it testifies to the total commitment of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular to the peace process in Angola.

Since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, there have been some positive developments, particularly in the military and political areas. For example, the meetings of Chiefs of Staff — on 10 January 1995 at the village of Chipipa in Huambo Province and on 2 and 3 February 1995 in Waku-Kungo — were an important development towards the implementation of the peace agreement.

In the humanitarian area too there has been appreciable improvement. We note with appreciation the launching by the United Nations of a $213-million inter-agency appeal fund for Angola to cover humanitarian activities for 1995.

Equally important has been the series of meetings of the Joint Commission. The arrival in December last year of a significant number of the expected 500 observers was a welcome move on the part of the United Nations, the more so as it took place within one month of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol.

The people of Angola, like all the rest of us in the southern African subregion, are acutely aware that the onus of establishing lasting peace in that country rests first and foremost upon the people of Angola themselves, for peace cannot be imposed from outside Angola. Nevertheless, the international community has a responsibility to assist the people of Angola in achieving that lasting peace. As is well known, peace is indivisible and a key to development efforts. It is for this reason that the United Nations has invested heavily in the peace process in that country, for which those of us from that part of the world are most grateful to the world body. The Lusaka Protocol is living testimony to the commitment of the international community.

In a number of its resolutions, the Security Council is on record as having committed itself to the implementation of the peace agreement on Angola. The time has come therefore to establish UNAVEM III in order to give effect to that commitment by this body. Indeed, the credibility of the United Nations and, in particular, that of the Security Council is at stake. Therefore, nothing should therefore be allowed to stand in the way of or, indeed, frustrate the immediate implementation of the agreement, as stipulated in the Lusaka Protocol.

The Angolan situation should not be treated any differently from other peace-keeping operations in which the United Nations has been involved. Yes, peace is an expensive commodity to achieve or maintain. In view of its crucial importance, though, it is my delegation's contention that no price is too high to pay for peace. My Government is convinced that the United Nations will live up to its expectations in this regard.

Angola is a country that is potentially rich in natural resources. Unfortunately, the long, fratricidal war has taken a heavy toll on its ability to exploit those resources to the full. The country will come out of its quagmire only if peace is guaranteed.

An era of peace and tranquillity has dawned in southern Africa. A new South Africa has been born, to the joy and jubilation of all the people of the subregion. Mozambique has emerged from a costly civil war into full-fledged democracy. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Mozambique, under the able leadership of His Excellency President Chissano, for their momentous achievement. There cannot, therefore, be any credible reason why Angola should be an exception to this new era of peace and stability in our subregion. The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is in our view critical in that it will have the effect of healing a wound in our subregion that would otherwise fester and promote reconciliation amongst the people of Angola.

Southern Africa is poised for a period of sustained development with the establishment of peace in Angola. Peace for Angola means peace for all of us in the subregion and, indeed, the African continent as a whole.

It is for this reason that we are looking forward to assistance from the international community in general

and the Security Council in particular for the people of Angola in regaining lasting peace through the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol on Angola without any equivocation or procrastination. My Government is confident that the Council will rise to the occasion by delivering the goods to the Angolan people and humankind as a whole through the immediate deployment of peace-keeping forces in Angola.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Catarino (Portugal): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to welcome your presence here today and congratulate you on the manner in which Ambassador Legwaila has been very ably steering the work of the Council this month. A word of appreciation is also in order for the excellent work of Ambassador Cárdenas as President during the month of January, when important steps were taken towards improving the transparency of the Council and its links with the rest of the States Members of the United Nations. For this he has our sincere thanks.

I would like to salute the Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) delegation, whose presence here today attests to the importance that organization attaches to bringing peace to Angola and supporting the work of the United Nations towards that end.

To His Excellency the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, I would like to extend a very cordial welcome.

Our role in the Angolan peace process is well known to everyone, and as one of the observer countries, Portugal played an active part in bringing the Lusaka Protocol into the light of day. It is the successful end of that very long and arduous process of negotiations that brings us here today, as the Security Council authorizes the launching of a new, enlarged United Nations peace-keeping operation in Angola.

The success of the Lusaka negotiations is the result of a number of factors, not least of which is how serious the Angolan Government and UNITA were about bringing the fighting in Angola to an end. But the unswerving persistence, dynamic skills and sheer wisdom of Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, was also — undoubtedly — a key element in that success. Always supported by the three observer countries, Maître Beye was able to transform dim hope into feasible reality. On behalf of my Government, our most sincere congratulations and appreciation go out to him.

Another very important factor contributing to the success of the Lusaka process was the work of the neighbouring States in demonstrating, through their solidarity with the Angolan people, that peace was possible and that it was an objective worth striving for. The very important contribution of the Government and the people of Zambia in hosting the negotiations can never be overestimated.

The Government of Portugal supports the draft resolution of the Security Council authorizing the establishment of the third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). The negotiations are over. It is now time to act. The tasks before UNAVEM III, in the context of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and other relevant Security Council resolutions, have been clearly set out by the Council. Let UNAVEM III not fail because the international community did not give it the capacity to fulfil these tasks.

While we understand the rationale behind a phased deployment of UNAVEM III, we also believe that the flexibility to deploy additional forces must be retained and must not be allowed to be held hostage to delays resulting from disagreements on whether one or another of the conditions has or has not been met.

The Angolan Government and UNITA must demonstrate that they understand what the United Nations and the international community are doing towards bringing peace to their country. They must show the necessary will to cooperate in order to bring about a successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the completion of the peace process. It is up to them to bring peace to Angola.

But we must proceed with caution in establishing conditions to be met before UNAVEM III can move on to its next phase. By giving the parties the opportunity to challenge whether those conditions have been fulfilled, we are not only allowing for delays in the deployment of additional personnel but also threatening to derail the peace process itself.

Above all, UNAVEM III needs to be given a clear mandate and the necessary means to achieve it. In keeping with its constant support for the peace process in Angola, Portugal stands ready to participate fully in that peace-keeping operation. We will be ready to send support units as well as military and civilian police observers, and to participate in the force's command structure. We appeal to the international community to support UNAVEM III in any way it can.

We have all travelled a long way to see peace come to Angola, but none more so than the people of that country, who deserve a chance to live a life different from one ravaged by war. The Security Council has taken a very important step towards peace in Angola. Let it be a firm and decisive one.

The President: I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words addressed to me and to my countryman Ambassador Legwaila.

The next speaker is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lesotho, His Excellency Mr. Molapo Qhobela. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a place at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Qhobela (Lesotho): At the outset, let me congratulate Botswana most warmly upon its assumption of the presidency of the United Nations Security Council for the month of February. Given his well-known and tested leadership qualities and his diplomatic skills and rich experience, we have full confidence that your country's Ambassador will guide the work of the Council to a successful conclusion during his tenure of office. He can therefore count on my delegation's full support and cooperation in the discharge of his onerous international functions.

Last month's President, His Excellency Mr. Cárdenas, Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations, discharged his duties and responsibilities with diligence, and therefore deserves commendation.

The Kingdom of Lesotho subscribes fully to the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Malawi on behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, we wish to offer a few observations and views of our own.

It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Government and people of Lesotho, to take this opportunity to address this body on an issue that remains of great concern to us in the southern African subregion and the African continent at large. It is of concern to us not only because it threatens the very foundations of democracy but because it again touches on the fundamental principle of the right of humanity to life.

When the Government of Angola and UNITA signed the Bicesse Agreement on 31 May 1991 in Portugal, the whole world, particularly Africa, commended the event, which — it was thought — could bring to the Angolan people the peace, national reconciliation and democracy they had long desired. The Angolan people, in turn, demonstrated their acceptance of the objectives of that Agreement by participating enthusiastically and in an orderly manner in the legislative and presidential elections of 29 and 30 September 1992, considered free and fair by the international community. Unfortunately, the refusal by UNITA to accept the electoral verdict and the simultaneous launching of armed actions by UNITA marked yet another cruel chapter in the history of that country.

We welcomed the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994. This was the product of lengthy negotiations, which culminated in the agreement for a cease-fire in Angola. We welcome this move, and wish to express our hope that it will usher in a new era of peace, national reconciliation and reconstruction in Angola, and also contribute to the necessary climate for development in the entire southern African subregion.

My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Angola, Mr. Beye, for the patient and skilful manner in which he discharged his mandate. We also wish to commend President Chiluba of the Republic of Zambia for the role he played in facilitating, and by being host to the negotiations that led to, the signing of the Lusaka Protocol.

Our task here today as emissaries of the OAU Council of Ministers is to highlight the need for the United Nations to support and consolidate the peace process in Angola by prompt deployment of the third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to ensure the implementation of the peace process and to act as a deterrent against any possible violations of the cease-fire that might result in a degeneration in the present situation.

Already, some African States, like Zambia and Zimbabwe, have declared their preparedness to

participate significantly in the peace-keeping effort by contributing troops under UNAVEM III. We are informed that the Republic of South Africa has offered to assist in the clearing of land-mines under the umbrella of the United Nations. It is in this regard that we would appeal for these countries to be provided with the required logistical support through UNAVEM III.

We wish at this stage to underscore the commitment of the Angolan Government to reaching a peaceful and negotiated settlement and to complying with the letter and spirit of the Lusaka Protocol. Not only did the Lusaka Protocol mark the beginning of a critical stage towards the final resolution of the internal conflict in Angola, it also reaffirmed the conviction of the Angolan Government that there was no military solution to the post-electoral crisis in that country. In this regard, the Kingdom of Lesotho hails the Angolan Parliament for having passed a law granting amnesty for crimes committed against the State's internal security establishments, and other offences related thereto committed in the context of the post-electoral military conflict.

The humanitarian situation in Angola is desperate. A large part of Angola has been sapped of its vitality and bears the deep scars of years of war. Southern Africa, and Africa in general, would appeal to the international community to assist Angola with humanitarian aid and technical and financial support in order to ensure that the demobilized soldiers, displaced persons and refugees are socially reintegrated and that the programme of national reconstruction is implemented.

At this juncture, I should like to refer to the draft resolution. It is our considered opinion that time is of the essence in UNAVEM III's being implemented. It would indeed be a pity if we missed the boat and had to prolong the suffering of the Angolan people. We are further of the opinion that many conditions set in the draft resolution tie the hands of the Secretary-General in effectively and efficiently implementing the mandate of UNAVEM III.

In concluding my few remarks, I wish to reaffirm the solidarity of Lesotho and Africa with the people of Angola as they forge ahead to enter the next millennium as a citadel of peace and democratic stability. We hope that this body will in its wisdom find it necessary to react speedily to Africa's plea so that the brotherly people of Angola can enjoy peace and prosperity in the years ahead.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lesotho for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to convey the satisfaction of the Spanish delegation at seeing you, Sir, preside over the Security Council for the month of February. We are aware of the symbolism of the Council's being presided over at this meeting by an African country, a neighbour of Angola. I am certain that your proven diplomatic qualities will ensure the success and wise conduct of the Council's work.

We also wish to congratulate Ambassador Cárdenas, and the Argentine delegation as a whole, for the very competent and effective manner in which he led the Council in January.

Spain, which during its recent membership of the Security Council worked with other members to make a positive contribution to the Angolan peace process, wishes on this occasion to join the other States Members of the United Nations in welcoming the establishment of a new peace-keeping operation, expanding the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) to become UNAVEM III. This marks a new phase of the United Nations presence in Angola, one which we hope will be the final stage of a long peace process. This decisive stage has been reached on the basis of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994 between the Government of Angola and UNITA, which was accomplished with the assistance of the United Nations through the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Blondin Beye, the observer States and States of the region.

My delegation welcomes the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, whose presence underscores the firm political will of his Government to comply with the commitments undertaken in the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol and to ensure that these commitments are strengthened through a significant United Nations presence in the country throughout the period of implementation.

The decision of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity to send a ministerial delegation to New York to attend this debate demonstrates the keen interest of the African continent in ensuring that the national reconciliation efforts of the Angolan parties are accompanied by a firm commitment

by the international community. We are pleased to note the significant attendance by Foreign Ministers and the depth of today's debate, which demonstrate great support for the establishment of UNAVEM III and its rapid deployment.

Spain, which has close ties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, joins in the expression of good wishes and active support, and is confident that the draft resolution before the Council will be adopted unanimously.

We wish to emphasize the importance of the rapid deployment of UNAVEM III in order to consolidate the progress achieved in the peace process and to implement the Lusaka Protocol. We understand that the provisions of the draft resolution relating to the effective deployment of the components of UNAVEM III are intended to ensure that this will occur in the best possible conditions and with the firm support and cooperation of the parties. We trust that the Secretary-General will soon be able to inform the Council that these requirements have been met.

We are all aware that the decision which the Security Council intends to adopt today marks the beginning of the final stage of the peace process in Angola, which may yet encounter certain difficulties. We are convinced that the commitment of the parties and the support of the international community will make it possible to overcome any obstacles, which we hope will prove to be minor, as reconciliation allows any lingering suspicions or mistrust to be set aside. A meeting between the President of Angola and the President of UNITA would represent a very important step in the right direction.

The series of important gestures made by both the Government and UNITA to date — among which we stress the smooth establishment of the Joint Commission in Luanda, the two meetings held by the Chiefs of Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces and UNITA, and the agreements reached between them — are encouraging signs which should help us to appreciate the will of the parties to fulfil their respective commitments to the cause of peace, so widely desired.

As the Spanish poet Antonio Machado said: "In walking, we have no path before us; it is in walking that the trail is blazed". We believe that the parties resumed their journey along that path by signing the Lusaka Protocol. The international community is at their side and encourages them through the draft resolution which the Council is about to adopt.

It is Spain's earnest hope that the people of Angola, who have endured the devastating consequences of a bloody civil war, will be able to begin to build on the foundations of reconciliation and reconstruction of the country, with the assistance of the international community and the United Nations. Angola is thus already participating in the mainstream of democratization and progress which pervades all of southern Africa and leads it towards a better future.

The President: I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Netherlands. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Biegman (Netherlands): First, Sir, I should like to offer you my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council.

The presence in our midst of many illustrious visitors — the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, as well as no fewer than 11 Foreign Ministers of African States — is a reflection of the fact that this is a momentous occasion. More than two years after the first United Nations attempt to bring peace to Angola failed, the guns are largely silent and we find ourselves on the eve of a new, large-scale peacekeeping operation. After 34 years of suffering, of the gruesome ordeal of the struggle for independence, followed by relentless civil strife, there is hope again for the Angolan people.

My country has a long-standing relationship with Angola in the field of development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, and we have therefore witnessed with particular interest the long and difficult road both parties have walked to finally arrive at the Lusaka Protocol. We were extremely pleased when, on 20 November last year, the Protocol was finally signed. We commend the role that the Secretary-General, the three observer States, Zambia, as host country of the negotiations, and several other African States have played in this respect. Most of all we pay tribute to the special representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Beye, who, apart from being a professional optimist, seems to have endless patience and perseverance.

Of even greater importance is the fact that the cease-fire, concluded shortly after the signing of the Protocol, is holding, since agreements and cease-fires have been

concluded before in Angola, but did not last. The draft resolution before us bears witness to the fact that the international community has learned from previous experience and is not naive any more about stated good intentions by warring parties; it contains numerous conditions for the deployment and continuation of activities of the various components of a third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), which are all linked to the need for the parties to show good faith and the necessary political will by effectively implementing the commitments which they themselves have undertaken. The Netherlands Government therefore urges the parties not to allow any further delays, but scrupulously to comply with the time-table envisaged in the Lusaka Protocol. On the other hand, in order to avoid a dangerous vacuum, the timely deployment of the peace-keeping forces — once the conditions listed in the Secretary-General's report are met — cannot be overemphasized.

In order to facilitate the peace process, an early meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi is, in our view, crucial, and we call upon both leaders to make every effort to realize such a meeting at their earliest convenience.

It goes without saying that my Government wholeheartedly supports the decision the Security Council is about to take to establish UNAVEM III. Netherlands military and police observers have served in UNAVEM II, even during the fiercest hostilities, and will continue to serve in UNAVEM III. We fully share the importance attached in the draft resolution to the speedy establishment of a comprehensive mine-clearance programme in Angola. Among all the activities UNAVEM III is expected to carry out, mine-clearance is of the utmost importance, as the continuous presence of mines could greatly hamper the implementation of other elements of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol.

In 1994 my country contributed 10 million Netherlands guilders — roughly $6 million — for humanitarian assistance to the people of Angola. We express the sincere hope that, through the efforts of both the Angolan parties and UNAVEM III, our future assistance and cooperation will not have to be limited to emergency and humanitarian aid only, but our humanitarian assistance to Angola will be continued in 1995.

Let me finally express the hope that on the road to peace and national reconciliation all sides will be guided by statesmanship, wisdom and above all generosity towards their former adversaries. UNAVEM III will be there to help, but it is ultimately for the Angolans themselves to realize our common dream of a unified, peaceful, democratic and prosperous Angola, where good governance, multi-party democracy, power-sharing and respect for human rights prevail. Let peace not become elusive once more. The Angolan people deserve better — and much better — than that.

The President: I thank the representative of the Netherlands for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister of State for African Affairs of Tunisia, His Excellency Mr. Sadok Fayala, whom I welcome. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr Fayala (Tunisia) *(interpretation from French)*: It is a great pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We wish you every success in the performance of your noble duties. I also congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of the Argentine Republic, on his excellent work last month.

I wish to tell you first, Mr. President, of the great interest that President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), takes in a final settlement of the conflict in Angola, and of the OAU's determination to spare no effort, in collaboration with the Security Council, to maintain and consolidate peace in Angola and in Africa as a whole.

I should also like to take the opportunity provided by my participation in this debate to congratulate the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, the countries making up the troika of observers — the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal — and the countries of southern Africa, particularly Zambia, for the commendable efforts they have all made to promote a settlement of the Angolan conflict.

The signing of the Lusaka Protocol and the declaration of a cease-fire between the two parties were crucial stages on the way to achieving a lasting peace in Angola. The United Nations can rightly be regarded as the architect of the peace process now going on in that country. It sponsored the process from start to finish and did everything necessary to ensure its success. What has been achieved so far by the efforts of the United Nations, the OAU, the members of the troika and all the countries

of the region guarantees that the Lusaka Protocol will continue to be implemented on a solid foundation.

Furthermore, the setting up of a Joint Commission to supervise the implementation of the peace accords will ensure that any difficulties will be overcome that may stand in the way of a final settlement of the Angolan conflict. In this context, the prompt deployment of the new United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) would certainly speed up the implementation of the Protocol, in response to the expectations of the Security Council and the international community as a whole. Likewise, the supervision and verification of the disengagement of forces, the monitoring and observance of the cease-fire, and the verification of the withdrawal, quartering and demobilization of troops are tasks that only the United Nations can perform and which are vital if the peace process is to be propelled forwards.

The Angolan people expect the Security Council to continue to provide assistance until peace is restored in their country, which, for 19 years now, has been ravaged by a fratricidal war that has caused enormous losses and great suffering. The Government of Angola and the leaders of UNITA, both during and after the signing of the Lusaka agreement, have made their willingness to further the peace process clear. Further cause for satisfaction is the fact that the cease-fire has been respected and that the parties have committed themselves to ensuring the safety of United Nations personnel. These are sufficient conditions for the rapid deployment of UNAVEM III.

Moreover, the readiness of the President of the Republic of Angola and the Head of UNITA to meet in the near future and the offer by the Angolan Government to provide logistic support to the UNAVEM forces provide additional assurances that the United Nations operation will be launched under very favourable circumstances.

The consolidation of peace in Angola is a priority matter that requires cooperation from us all. The reconstruction of the country, the repatriation of refugees, the return of displaced persons, the de-mining operations and the reintegration into civilian life of demobilized troops are major challenges that call out for more assistance from the international community.

We welcome the Secretary-General's arrangements for the humanitarian relief programme that the United Nations, in cooperation with the specialized agencies, intends to implement at the present stage of the peace process. The role of UNAVEM III is crucial in this context as it will enable relief to be delivered to the needy and will strengthen coordination between the various humanitarian activities.

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), at its sixty-first regular session in Addis Ababa — from 23 to 27 January 1995 — reaffirmed its total support for the peace process under way in Angola on the basis of the "Acordos de Paz" and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. In order to ensure the success of this process, the Council of the OAU dispatched the African ministerial delegation that is present here today, to ask the Security Council to authorize the establishment of UNAVEM III and the rapid deployment of troops.

The presence of the ministerial delegation also provides an opportunity to reaffirm the OAU's desire to continue and to strengthen its cooperation with the United Nations, particularly in the area of preventive diplomacy, through the OAU's central mechanism for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts in Africa. This cooperation has proved very useful in a number of situations, and the case of Angola once again provides us today with an opportunity to observe a successful peace-keeping operation conducted by the United Nations with the participation of the African countries.

We hope that the Security Council will adopt a resolution commensurate with the expectations of the Angolan people, that will be equal to the task of consolidating peace throughout southern Africa — and throughout Africa as a whole — so that Africa can embark irreversibly on the process of development.

The President: I thank the Minister of State for African Affairs of Tunisia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): Mr. President, as my delegation warmly welcomes your presence here today, I congratulate Ambassador Legwaila on his assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. We are fully confident that under his wise and skilled leadership the work of the Security Council will be conducted in a highly effective way. He can count on the full support and cooperation of the Brazilian delegation. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank

his predecessor, Ambassador Emilio Cárdenas, and his very competent staff for the manner in which they conducted the business of the Council during the month of January. I again express appreciation for the important steps taken with regard to transparency, a trend that, we are pleased to see, has also become a concern of the current presidency.

Again, we are pleased to extend our warmest welcome to His Excellency Mr. Venâncio de Moura, Minister of External Relations of Angola. We would like to thank him for the comprehensive statement he has just made. His insights into the situation in his country and his analysis of the next steps to be taken in the political, military, humanitarian and economic fields are an indication of the magnitude of the tasks to be accomplished in the pursuit of lasting peace and stability in Angola. As in previous statements he has made at the Security Council over the last few years, his words stand for his Government's unequivocal commitment to working with the international community for the attainment of the objectives of peace and national reconciliation in his country.

I also wish to express my Government's recognition of President José Eduardo dos Santos' unfailing and constant adherence to the cause of peace. His leadership and political wisdom have been vital in the process that has led to the signing of the Bicesse Accords and the Lusaka Protocol.

Allow me also to express the great honour we feel at participating in this important session in the presence of the ministerial delegation from the Organization of African Unity led by His Excellency the Honourable Mr. E. C. I. Bwanali, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malawi.

The presence of so many dignitaries from African countries signifies Africa's firm support for and solidarity with the Government and people of Angola at a time when a major decision is to be taken at this Council on the next stages of the protracted Angolan peace process. The decision taken at the recent meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa clearly reflects that organization's resolve to participate actively in matters pertaining to peace and stability in Africa.

These are indeed momentous times for the history of Angola. Through the various phases of the prolonged Angolan conflict we have managed to arrive at the threshold of its final solution. After many years of conflict, Angolans can finally expect to experience living in peace, cherishing the moment that their country will be free of war, fear and insecurity.

We very much welcome the decision to be taken today to establish a new peace-keeping mission — UNAVEM III — aimed at assisting Angolans in restoring peace and achieving national reconciliation on the basis of the Bicesse Accords and the recently signed Lusaka Protocol. This is a decisive step by the international community in the quest for lasting peace and stability in Angola.

The deployment of 7,000 military personnel — in addition to the 610 military and police observers — with an initial mandate of 18 months is a decision that constitutes a critical turning point in the Angolan peace process. The objectives and mandate of UNAVEM III are neither easy nor simple. They will involve activities in the political, military, police, humanitarian and electoral fields. It is worth mentioning that this is the first new peace-keeping operation the United Nations has set up in Africa since the successful conclusion of the peace process in Mozambique and the peaceful transition in South Africa.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, the United Nations troops are called upon to perform a series of vital tasks. These range from monitoring and verification activities to controlling quartering areas, ensuring that armed elements remain separate during the demobilization process, and collecting weapons.

At this point in the peace process, not a moment should be lost in the deployment of UNAVEM III's infantry units. In his report, the Secretary-General quite rightly stated — and the Council in its wisdom has concurred with him — that United Nations infantry units should be deployed promptly in Angola. A step in the right direction was authorizing the immediate dispatch of the planning and support elements needed to prepare that deployment and the subsequent deployment of additional elements for the establishment of operational quartering areas for UNITA forces. This reflects the international community's clear support for the peace process and makes a concrete contribution to creating the necessary circumstances under which the infantry units will be better able to discharge their mandate.

The momentum reached with the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, followed by the positive initiatives leading to the creation of a basis for mutual understanding and trust, must be fully maintained.

Fortunately, the international community is doing its part with the establishment of a sizeable peace-keeping operation and by granting it the flexibility it needs to achieve results within a reasonable time without imposing undue preconditions or an overburdened timetable for results.

To accomplish the complex task before it, the Organization can profit and learn from the experience acquired in the recently and successfully concluded operation in Mozambique. That operation clearly shows that, to be effective, peace-keeping operations must be adequately staffed and equipped and that unnecessary delays in their deployment should be avoided at all costs.

Brazil has always supported a peaceful solution to the conflict in Angola. Our ties with that sister country have deep historical and cultural roots. In accordance with this position, the Brazilian Government is ready to accept an invitation to become a major contributor to the Angolan peace process at this crucial juncture. At this moment, we are in a position to take the necessary internal measures to send a full infantry battalion, an engineering company and two medical units to Angola without delay.

These are times for hope and optimism. Peace in Angola will constitute yet another major achievement within the process that began in South Africa and that has just been completed in Mozambique — a process we expect to be extended to other countries in the continent. Now it is the time to begin the task of reconstructing the country so that the immense potential with which Angola has been endowed can be used to further the cause of the development and welfare of its brave people.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to my countryman, Ambassador Legwaila.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Namibia, His Excellency Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab. I welcome Mr. Gurirab and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Gurirab (Namibia): Let me at the outset, albeit belatedly, extend my best wishes to one and all for a splendid new year and share with you my own dream for a world completely at peace, with prosperity for all. This ought to be our common yearning: that 1995, the United Nations Year for Tolerance, will usher in a change for the better in old habits and in the ways we have been doing things up till now.

Allow me, Sir, to congratulate your country on its assumption the presidency of the Security Council for this month, a month when, by happy coincidence, the question of Angola is being discussed. You, Sir, will no doubt be playing a crucial role in helping find a lasting solution to the Angolan conflict. As the leader of the Southern African Development Community, Botswana is well placed to bring its accumulated wisdom and diplomatic excellence to bear upon the deliberations of the Council. We in Namibia have strong sentiments towards you personally, towards your Ambassador to the United Nations, and towards your great country, whose history and destiny are so closely tied up with Namibia's own fortunes and fate. You can always count on my support and on the cooperation of my delegation.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Cárdenas of Argentina, on having successfully presided over the Council in January.

My thanks go also to the indefatigable and imaginative Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his hard work, and especially for his excellent report (S/1995/97 and Add.1), which provides useful information on the situation in Angola and details for the deployment of a third United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). In the same vein, I would like to commend my brother and colleague, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for the patience, perseverance and diplomatic skill he displayed during the protracted negotiations that culminated in the Lusaka Protocol.

The signing of the Lusaka Protocol was a significant victory and a breakthrough for us all, especially for the Angolan people, who have for so long been yearning for peace and normalcy in their lives.

President Chiluba of Zambia was a sage adviser and a lightning-rod behind the scenes, encouraging, cajoling and inspiring the negotiators — and not least the observer delegations too — to turn set-backs and frustrations in the negotiations into challenges and opportunities on the basis of the step-by-step consensus-building that eventually produced the expected result. The Government and the people of Zambia wholeheartedly gave President Chiluba the support he needed to carry on with this noble task. We salute President Chiluba for his critical role, and we express gratitude to his people for their generosity and their commitment to helping their Angolan neighbours to end the human tragedy in their country.

As Angola's neighbour, Namibia has a strong, direct interest in finding a lasting solution to the conflict in that sister country. In our continued search for peace in Angola, the President of the Republic of Namibia, His Excellency Mr. Sam Nujoma, accompanied by me and other senior Government Ministers, visited Angola on 3 February 1995 for discussions with His Excellency President José Eduardo dos Santos and his Ministers. We left Angola fortified in the knowledge that the Angolan Government is interested in a lasting peace in that country. Namibia is seriously considering making a meaningful contribution to the peace process in Angola, including the implementation of UNAVEM III.

We have made repeated offers for similar consultations with the leadership of UNITA and have invited Mr. Jonas Savimbi to come to Namibia for discussions. Neither we nor others in the region have been successful so far in this regard. I wish to take this opportunity to renew our invitation to Mr. Savimbi to visit Namibia and to find a way to turn a new page and be able to interact with other African leaders, in the interest of peace, stability and regional cooperation.

Africa has repeatedly expressed appreciation to the members of the Security Council and other United Nations Member States, in particular the troika — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America — for the pivotal role they have played in the Angolan conflict. That conflict has been long and difficult, but the United Nations did not abandon its mission or leave the Angolan people to their own fate. As the Council embarks on the larger mission of the deployment of UNAVEM III, it is the view of the Government of Namibia that the Secretary-General should be allowed sufficient latitude and flexibility to be able to carry out the mandate entrusted to him effectively.

What this means is that the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council should adopt uniform standards and approaches in situations of conflict and peacemaking that involve the Organization. International peace-keeping and regional conflict management and resolution are laudable undertakings that require effective coordination and generous funding by the entire international community.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) Council of Ministers, at its sixty-first session, held in Addis Ababa, decided, *inter alia*, to send a high-powered delegation of several African Foreign Ministers, together with Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, our able and dedicated Secretary-General, to take part in this important debate. We are here to join hands with the members of the Council and the Secretary-General to speed up the deployment of UNAVEM III in Angola so that there is no delay. Its deployment will serve both as an effective deterrent to likely violations of the cease-fire and as a concrete confidence-building measure in the eyes of the Angolan people themselves. The Angolan Government and UNITA have made a commitment to peace and reconciliation, starting with the cease-fire which, while so far satisfactory, still remains susceptible to threats or actual violations, whether deliberate or accidental.

We can now clearly see the light at the end of the tunnel. It is high time cooperation and brotherhood replaced blood-letting and enmity in Angola.

Namibia welcomes the ongoing meetings between the Chiefs of Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces and UNITA as positive steps. Such high-level meetings will strengthen the cease-fire before and after the deployment of UNAVEM III and will help create the necessary confidence-building measures. In this context, the face-to-face meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, which we hope will take place soon, will usher in a new phase in Angola and further strengthen the transition from war to peace.

The draft resolution before the Council seeks specifically to authorize the creation and early deployment of UNAVEM III in Angola in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol, and this is what the OAU Ministerial delegation has come here to support. In this context, I wish to place on record my commendation to the chairman of the OAU ministerial delegation, the Foreign Minister of Malawi, my colleague and brother the Honourable Mr. Bwanali, for his sterling leadership of this mission, and also to say to my other colleagues that our working together to serve Africa in this case is an example that our continent should emulate in other conflict situations in Africa. It goes without saying that Namibia also shares the concerns and preoccupations which the Foreign Minister of Angola, my good friend and colleague Mr. Venâncio de Moura, expressed in his important statement. It is my sincere hope and expectation that the collective wisdom of the Council will help overcome those concerns.

On 15 July 1993, I addressed the Council on the issue of Angola. I implored the international community to consider providing massive assistance for the reconstruction of Angola. In his current report, the

Secretary-General states that Angola is reported to be the most land-mine-infested country in the world. It is estimated that in Angola there are between 9 and 15 million land-mines and pieces of unexploded ordnance that have been broadcast throughout the country over the three decades of conflict.

I also pointed out then that the successive reports of the Secretary-General had revealed massive destruction of cities, economic infrastructure, public utilities, hospitals and schools. What was true in 1993 is even truer after two more years of war.

I wish once again to appeal to the international community for generous assistance for the reconstruction of Angola. Non-governmental organizations will have an important role to play in providing humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people. In 1993 I made an appeal for a pledging conference for the reconstruction of Angola to be considered. I reiterate that appeal today. In this regard, I welcome the initiative of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, which has already issued an appeal for the clearing of land-mines — a necessary condition for the resettlement of the displaced population and for normalization of their lives.

Lastly, successful reconstruction of Angola will be the surest and most secure way of guaranteeing peace and reconciliation in Angola, as well as accelerating the Southern African Development Community's objectives of regional integration, trade, reconstruction and development.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, His Excellency Mr. Alfred Nzo, whom I welcome. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nzo (South Africa): It is indeed an honour for me to participate in these proceedings today as South Africa's representative on a delegation of the Organization of African Unity. Since an African issue is being considered today, it is particularly appropriate that the Security Council's work is being guided this month by a fellow African Member State, the Republic of Botswana.

I wish at the outset to associate myself with the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Malawi on behalf of the ministerial delegation of the Organization of African Unity. It needs to be emphasized that a peaceful settlement of the Angolan civil conflict is not only essential for the people of Angola themselves, but also of major importance to political stability and economic development in southern Africa as a whole.

For these reasons, the South African Government welcomed the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994 by the Angolan Government and UNITA. The South African Government has also subsequently noted with satisfaction the first steps that have been taken in the implementation of the accord. We are pleased to note that the cease-fire is generally respected. The United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, has played a pivotal role in this process and deserves great credit for his dedication and perseverance. States in the region played an important role in the process — particularly Zambia, which hosted protracted negotiations. I also wish to refer to the substantial role that has been played by the observer States — the troika of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America.

Yet it is the Angolan Government and UNITA that deserve our particular congratulations on reaching an agreement to end the civil conflict. We must accept that the durability of the peace process in Angola is largely dependent on the political will of the Angolan people themselves. In this respect, we are encouraged by the prospects of a meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. This meeting will no doubt further enhance the peace process.

The South African Government is of the opinion that the people of Angola need not only the encouragement but also the concrete support of the region and the international community at this decisive stage of their history. In this regard, a crucial aspect in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is the role of the United Nations in Angola. The South African Government believes that an effective United Nations presence is needed on the ground, together with a realistic and adequate mandate. It is therefore essential that such a United Nations force be established and deployed without delay.

Members of the Council are aware that our presence here today follows from the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa from 23 to 27 January. The Council of Ministers requested that the Security Council should decide today to establish the third United Nations Verification Mission

in Angola (UNAVEM III) as well as on an early deployment of its forces. As a member of the delegation of the Organization of African Unity here today, I wish to emphasize my Government's support for this position. The Angolan peace process has entered a crucial phase; it urgently needs to be consolidated and strengthened. Only an expanded United Nations force with a broadened mandate will be able to bring the necessary support to bear on a process which remains fragile. The South African Government therefore agrees with the recommendations contained in the most recent report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM II, especially the recommendation that a new United Nations operation, with the mandate and strength described in the report, should immediately take over from UNAVEM II. We are therefore pleased that these recommendations are embodied in the draft resolution to be adopted today.

Let me conclude by saying that such an expanded United Nations presence will be able to count on the practical support of the South African Government, which in principle remains prepared to play a role when called upon to do so.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I begin, Sir, by expressing the warm congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your professional and human qualities guarantee the success of the Council's work at a time when the international community is preparing to mark further significant progress in the southern part of the African continent — which includes your country, Botswana — in the establishment of peace and stability which Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique have embraced one after the other, to general satisfaction.

I wish to convey my profound gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Cárdenas, for the effective way in which he led the Council last month.

The recent meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity fully appreciated the significance and scope of the Lusaka Protocol of 20 November 1994 and the promising prospects thus opened up for the restoration of peace, stability and security in Angola. In dispatching a strong delegation comprising several Foreign Ministers and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to participate in this debate, Africa has committed itself as a whole to the success of the process of national reconciliation in Angola and to the strict implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, with the invaluable assistance of the United Nations. Moreover, the very signing of the Lusaka Protocol was the result of efforts, including those of the United Nations, focusing on a regional negotiating mechanism led by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, to whom I am pleased to pay a well-deserved tribute.

The Lusaka Protocol, an extension of the Bicesse Accords of May 1991, embodies the will of the Angolan Government and of UNITA to make full use of political means to put an end to a particularly devastating fratricidal conflict. It is thus an important development, marking the point of no-return in the Angolan people's march towards the achievement of a notably better national future.

Indeed, despite the precarious situation and the difficulties inherent in moving from confrontation to cooperation on the path to national reconciliation, the steps taken by both parties and the stages that have already been passed have greatly helped to meet the conditions for the systematic implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, with a United Nations presence, whose human and material resources can measure up to its tasks.

The cease-fire entered into force on 22 November 1994. In the view of the observers of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), it has been generally effective, and any violations that may have been committed are considered minor. The Joint Commission, established in implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and chaired by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, has held several meetings and is accomplishing its work satisfactorily. The meeting of the Chiefs of Staff held on 10 January allowed important decisions to be taken with a view to guaranteeing respect for the military provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, particularly by initiating a disengagement of the forces of the two parties and thus contributing to the consolidation of the cease-fire and to a climate of mutual trust. The expected meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi should

strengthen this climate of trust and give decisive momentum to the peace process.

The international community and the United Nations should, in the words of the Secretary-General in his most recent report on Angola, respond positively to this challenge. The United Nations should not only assist in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol in order to speed up the peace process, but also coordinate and facilitate humanitarian activities linked to that process. The task is both urgent and essential. We must assist refugees and internally displaced persons to return to their homes. We must ensure the reintegration into civilian life of the demobilized soldiers and de-mine parts of the territory, in order to allow the safe movement of persons and goods and help the economy to recover. These are areas of work which are equally crucial for strengthening peace and stability in the country.

In his conclusions, the Secretary-General very clearly indicates that the situation in Angola is encouraging and that the dynamic of peace is well under way there. On this basis and to consolidate the process, the Secretary-General proposes that a new United Nations operation, UNAVEM III, immediately take over from UNAVEM II, whose mandate expires today.

Algeria endorses these conclusions, especially since, as the Secretary-General has emphasized, the conditions set by resolution 966 (1994) of 8 December 1994 for deploying a new United Nations operation in Angola — in particular, respect for the cease-fire — have been met. UNAVEM III should be deployed as soon as possible, for any delay or additional conditions could raise unnecessary obstacles to progress in the peace progress. To consolidate such progress and make it irreversible requires a clear message and a firm commitment from the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

Several speakers remain on my list. In view of the lateness of the hour, I shall now, with the concurrence of the members of the Council, suspend the meeting until 3.30 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m.